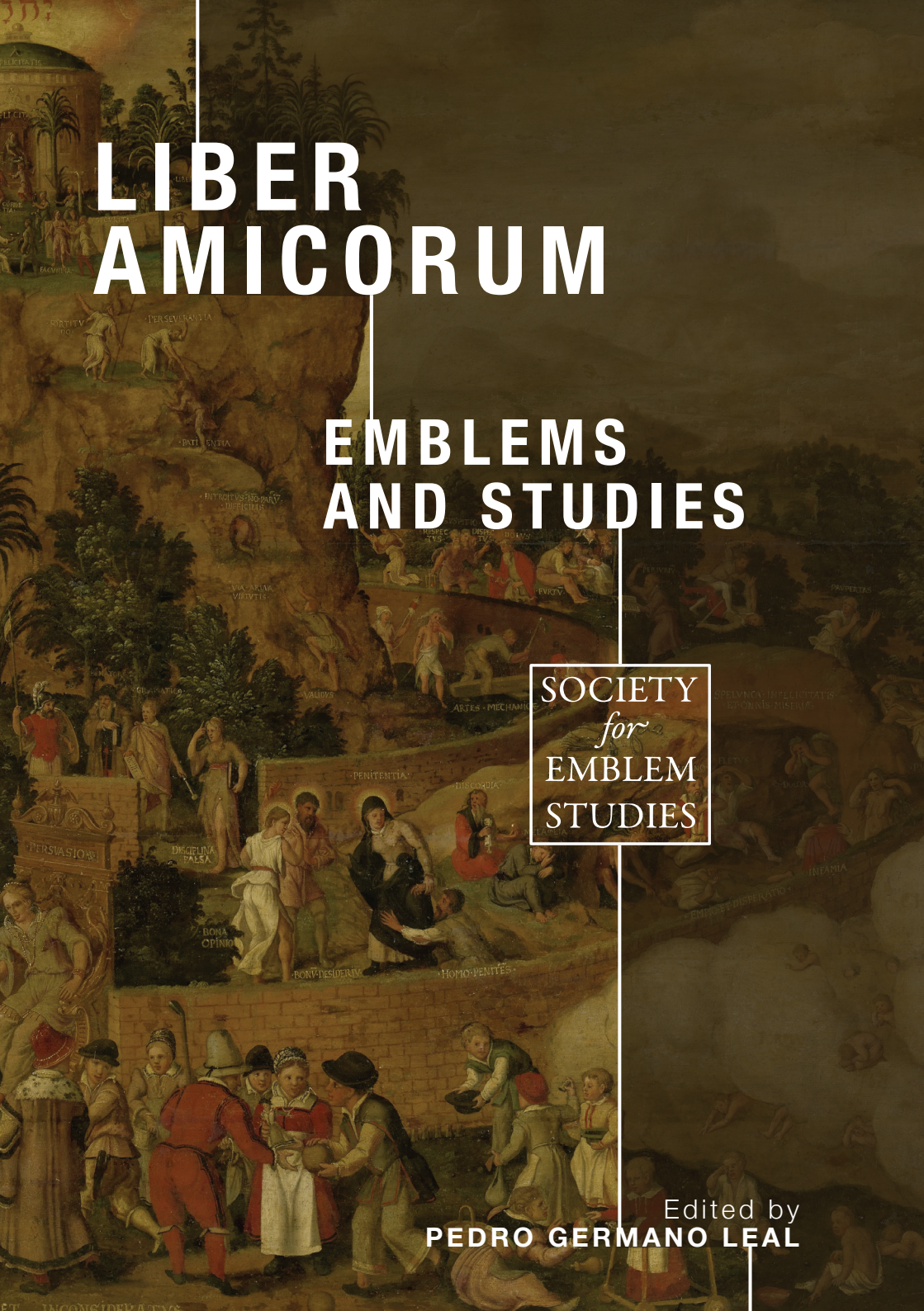

LIBER AMICORUM

EMBLEMS AND STUDIES

SOCIETY *for* EMBLEM STUDIES

Edited by
PEDRO GERMANO LEAL

LIBER AMICORUM: Emblems and Studies

First Edition

Edited by
Pedro Germano Leal

SOCIETY *for* EMBLEM STUDIES

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"The Society for Emblem Studies exists to foster the study of emblem books and related materials in literature and the visual arts, their origins and influence on other cultural forms, in all periods, countries and languages. The current membership includes teachers and students of literature, art-historians, librarians and archivists, collectors of antiquarian books, historians of Renaissance and Baroque cultures, students of comparative literature, and scholars interested in the wider relationship between literature and the visual arts, theories or representation, iconology and iconography." If you are interested in becoming a member, please visit: emblemstudies.org.

Cover image: Anonymous, *Tabula Cebetis*, 1573. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum.

To those who departed
To those who arrived
In the years of pandemic

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FOREWORD

Pedro Germano Leal

Ipse dabo vati chartacea munera vates

Exactly five-hundred years ago, during the winter holidays of 1522, Andrea Alciato wrote a little book of poems that he called *Emblemata*. This collection of epigrams contained many translations from the *Greek Anthology*, and was heavily inspired by the 'arguments' of Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica* and the hieroglyphs of Chaeremon—supposedly used in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Alciato also looked for inspiration from coins, printer's marks and other sources to create his 'mosaics'—built with many hands. The book would be published later, in 1531 (without the author's knowledge), when it receive the images that ultimately formed the emblem genre.

To celebrate this date, and on the occasion of its XII International Conference in 2022, The *Society for Emblem Studies* invited its members and friends to create new emblems, or share new lights on old ones. The *Sociedad Española de Emblemática* also embraced this campaign and sent invitation to its members. As a result, we received over fifty compositions, addressing many ancient and contemporary matters—from love to struggle, from politics to the pandemic, but also perseverance, beauty and friendship. The mediums of the *picturae* varied from oil paintings, watercolors, guaches, photographs,

posters, woodcuts and digital art; and the *subscriptiones* were equally rich in their diversity: English, Spanish, Latin, German, French, Italian, Portuguese and Russian.

Accompanying these emblems, we decided to publish here an *Anthologia* of thirteen short essays from our *Emblem of the Month* section, including two hitherto unpublished pieces. The series began seven years ago, and what was conceived as an unpretentious blog, was immediately met with great pieces of scholarship. Given the ephemeral nature of websites, the book is still the safest format for preservation, and these flowers certainly deserved 'to be read by the globe'.

The topics covered by our anthology are also varied: questions of contemporary and early-modern art are engaged with the same curiosity, with a strong emphasis on the transmission of ideas and iconographic motifs between the book and material cultures. The format, without the constraints of longer pieces, allows for the wit that characterizes the emblematic thought—in a combination of objectivity, intense content and freshness. As a result, this book demonstrates the afterlife of emblems in today's culture, as the digital world embraces new articulations of words and images.

We hope that this publication will encourage our members to send their contributions to our *Emblem of the Month* section so we can further explore this format as a vehicle for scholarly output. From now on, we will welcome contributions in any of the languages represented in our society.

Another motivation for the present volume was the impact of the coronavirus pandemics on our ability to obtain materials for the SES Newsletter and on our need to postpone our conference in Coimbra, which initially programmed to take place in 2020.

But above all editorial intents, this is a *Liber Amicorum*, a book of friends, that was put together during the hard times of distancing caused by the coronavirus pandemic. We hope that this book will reconnect colleagues, stir conversations and allow us all to 'fill up the time of lazy men'.

PART ONE:
EMBLEMATA

Society for Emblem Studies XII International Conference
Coimbra, 25-30 July, 2022.

MUTA POESIS,
PICTURA LOQUENS

Jaff Seijas

MIND, NOT OUTWARD FORM, PREVAILS

The Mind in knowing knows itself,
creates its mask, indeed All else…
the action and the stage and set,
and all the Play in which it rests.

Jaff Seijas

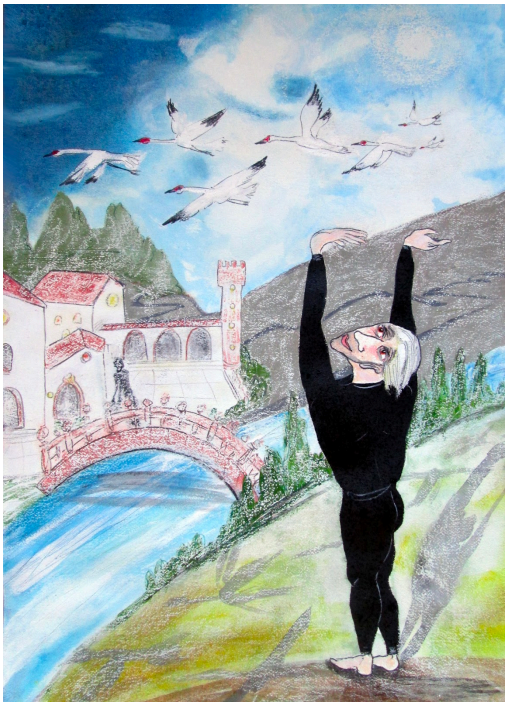
SHE HID HER SECRETS BEHIND A VEIL
(Velo latet abdita)

Glamor, a world problem,
may cast its age old spell…
so oft' we are hard-pressed
the Truth from False to tell.
Skin deep claims on Beauty Jars
the mirrors may reveal,
so thoroughly we are convinced
by All that they conceal.

The original idea came from Pythagoras:
"Where Do you come from? What have you done? What right thing have you refrained from doing? -or- Where did I go astray? What did I do? What duty was left undone?

Jaff Seijas

FREEDOM
(Cranes Are Flying)



I heard a cry from that vast sky,
when Cranes were flying overhead.
It seemed to swell from every part of
Nature's liberated play.
Its message formed All energy
and Freedom was its name.

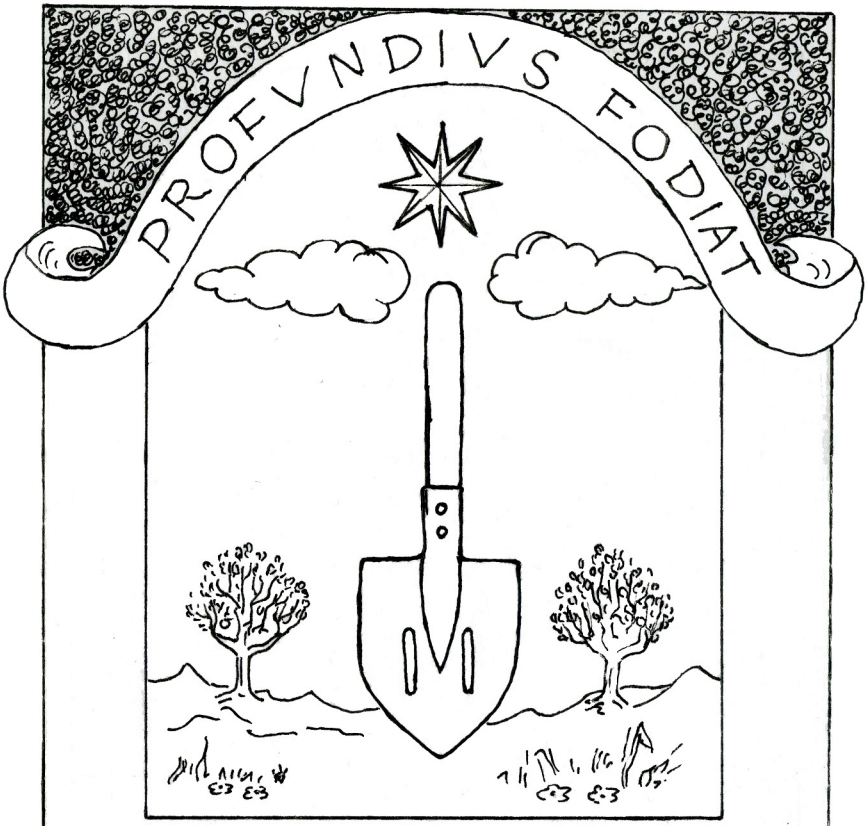
A

PROFVNDIVS FODIAT

Учёный жаждет истину постичь,
Измерив рассуждения на весах,
Чем глубже он старается достичь,
Тем выше воспаряет в небесах.

Un saggio sta cercando la verità
Per dei suoi misteri sollevare il velo.
Più cerca di ottener profondità,
Più parta in volo felicemente nel cielo.

Julia Krasnobaeva
The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow



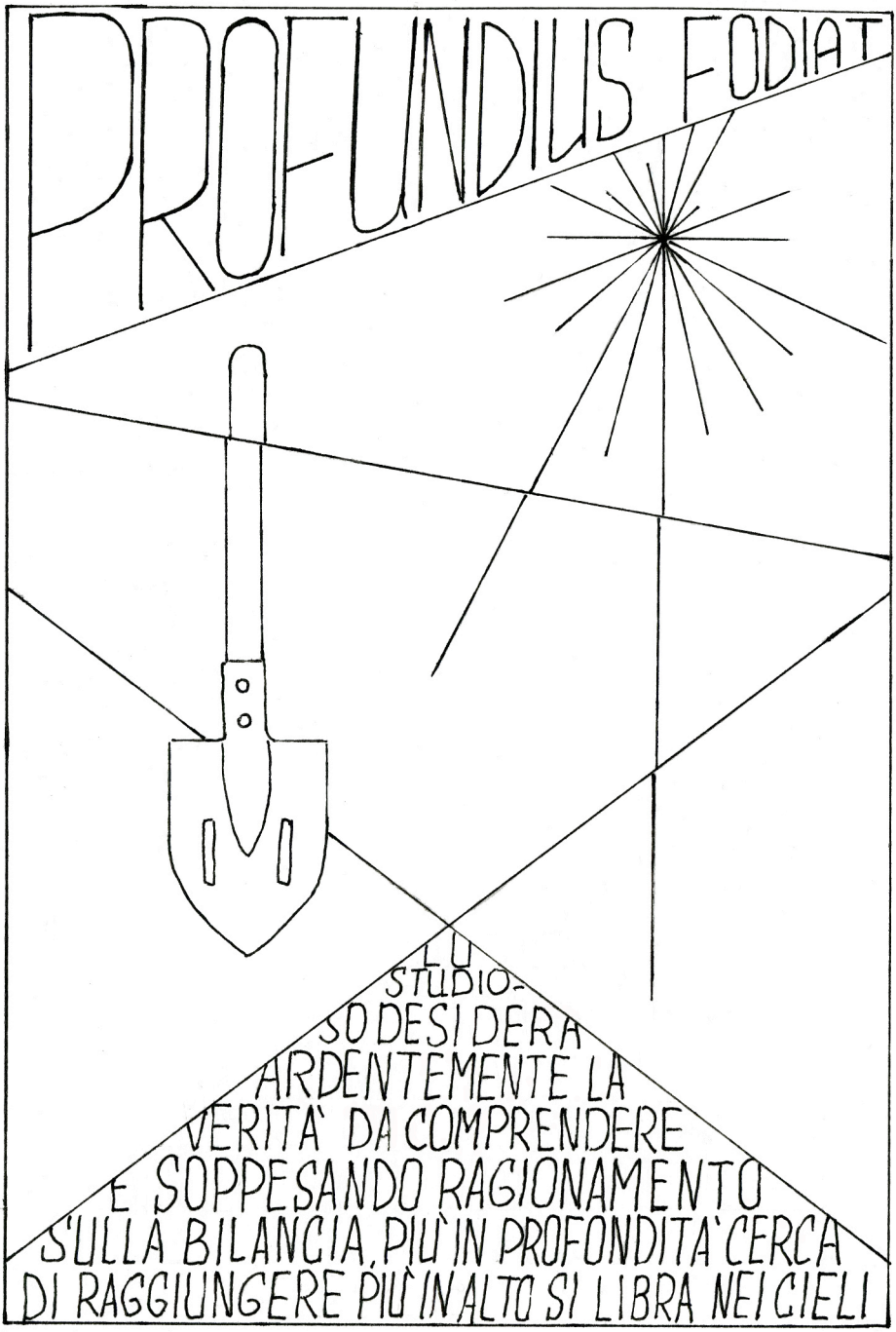
Учёный жаждет истину постичь,
Измерив рассужденья на весах.
Чем глубже он старается достичь,
Тем выше воспаряет в небесах.

Un saggio sta cercando la verità
Per dei suoi misteri sollevare il velo.
Più cerca di ottener profondità,
Più parta in volo felicemente nel cielo.

PROFVNDIVS FODIAT

Lo scienziato desidera ardentemente la verità da comprendere e, soppesando il ragionamento sulla bilancia, più in profondità cerca di raggiungere più in alto si libra nei cieli.

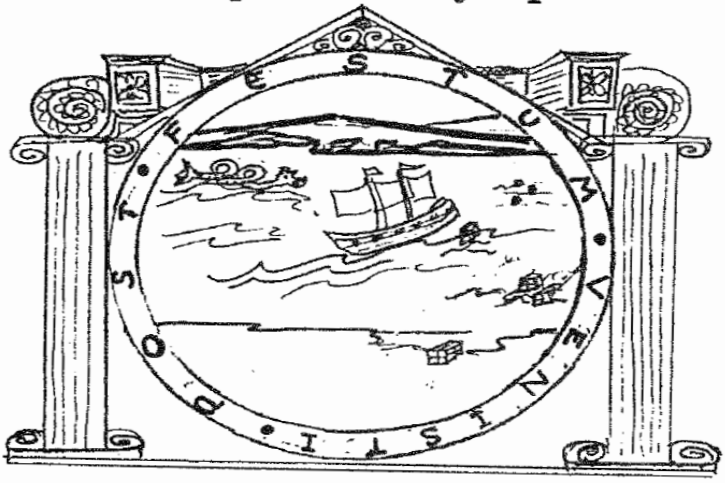
Julia Krasnobaeva
The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow


PROFUNDIUS FODIAT
LO STUDIOSO DESIDERA ARDENTEMENTE LA VERITÀ DA COMPRENDERE E SOPPESANDO RAGIONAMENTO SULLA BILANCIA, PIÙ IN PROFONDITÀ CERCA DI RAGGIUNGERE PIÙ IN ALTO SI LIBRA NEI CIELI

POST FESTUM VENISTI

William Engel
Sewanee: The University of the South

By what means can we let the Space of Translation
Erase and replot lines of Equivocation?

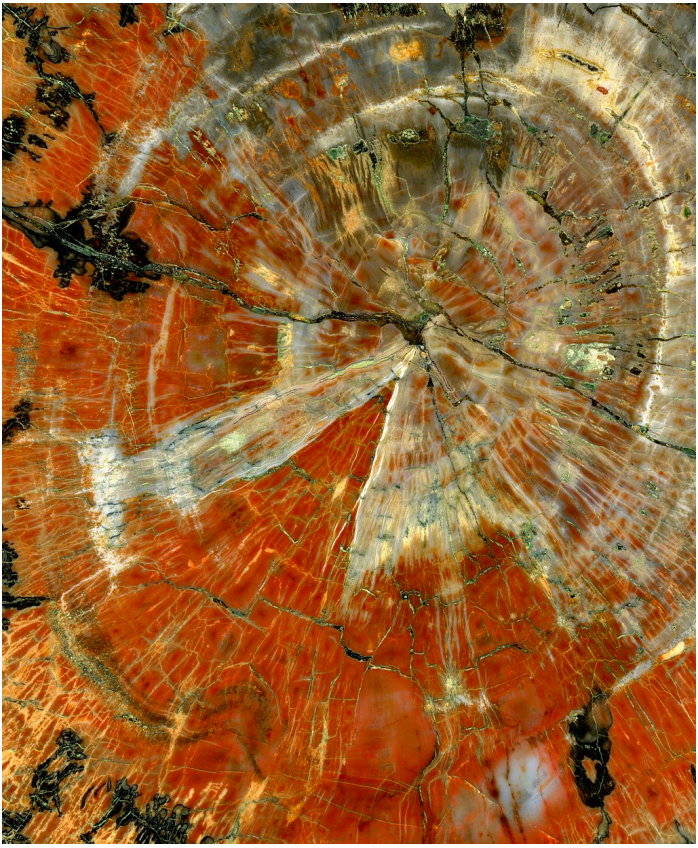


From the farthest shore e'en unto our owne
These precious packets with care I convey;
But the daungers both concealéd & knowne
Cause several to be loste along the waye.
Yet by Fortune a few from sea may drift ashore,
Thus enriching our transferred cargo all the more.

Thought-images boxed and wrapped up in wordes
Which sail now across time and foreign climes,
We reclaim in part as pithy proverbs
And keepe them close at hand in golden rhymes.
All of this, the whole processe no less than my theme,
Is pictured here—and worded—though as in a dreame....

Charles W Henebry
Boston University
Image courtesy of Michael Gäbler

TEMPUS DENSAT
(Time Thickens)



Trees grow thicker, each ring pressing outward
From the center, causing bark to split
From pressure even as the plant grows strong.
So we gain texture as time thickens us.

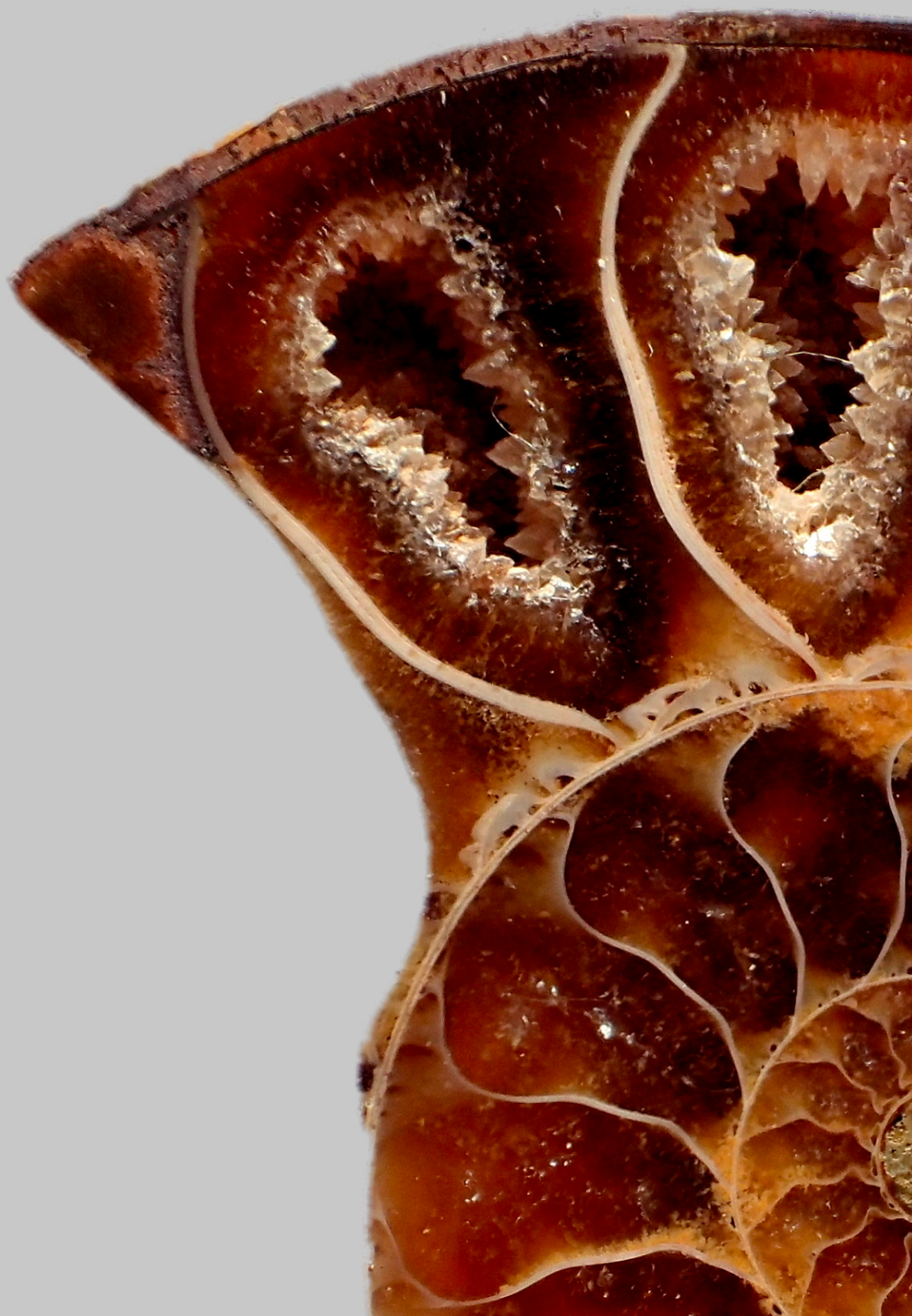
Buried in a mudslide, this hardwood
Grew far harder, intricate oak
Preserved in mineral latticework.
So we gain beauty as time thickens us.

Charles W Henebry
Boston University
Image courtesy of Gozitano.

NIHILUM EX NIHILO
(Nothing Comes From Nothing)

Our lives expand like this one did—a
curve

Which circles round to miss its origin.
Thought alone runs back through time
Along its arc
to find the holy starting point.



ET IN VOLVENDO QUIESCO

Transcrevo a inscriptio e o inicio da subscriptio da edição em francês (Utrecht : Schouten, 1697, que é o que se ajusta à minha condição de usuário da rede de dormir, que tenho suspensa de ganchos nas paredes do meu quarto: "Je trouve le repos dans mon agitation. Plusieurs peuples de l'Amerique ont coûtume, lorsqu'ils veulent prendre leur repos, d'attacher une espèce de lit entre deux arbres, & c'est une chose admirable, qu'ils s'endorment bien plus facilement, lorsque l'air agité donne du branle à leur couche suspenduë, que quand tout est calme & serain." A rede pendurada entre árvores é um excelente modo de fazer a sesta após uma feijoada regada a caipirinha num fim de semana calorento. Mas, deitar-se corretamente nela sem perigo de despencar requer uma técnica.

Rubem Amaral Jr.
Independent researcher
Philothei Symbola Christiana Quibus Idea Hominis Christiani Exprimitur. Francofurti : Zubrod, 1677: Symbolum XIII, p. 25. Image courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

SYMBOLUM XIII.

ET IN VOLVENDO QUIESCO.

MOs compluribus Americæ populis eſt, ut lecto inter arbores alligato, per noctem quieſcant, eoque majorem ſomni vim experiantur, quò incitatior aura jacentes hinc inde volvit. Nobis etiam quieſcentibus, ſi aliquando illam impetraverimus gratiam,

Amytié entre les freres.

Si amytié ſe treuue es eſtrangers,
De combien plus entre amys & parens
Doibt elle auoir ſes effectz apparens
Nõ pas fainctifz, deſloyaulx ne legiers:

VNg pere eſtoit au lict de mort giſant,
Qui appella (ſon teſtament faiſant)
Ses troys enfans, auſquelz cõe diſpos,
Il diſt ces motz ẽtre pluſieurs propos:
Mes beaulx enfans le principal moyen,
Pour maintenir en valleur voſtre bien,
C'eſt auoir paix & amytié enſemble,
Que ſi aulcun de vous ſe deſaſſemble
De l'amytié qui entre vous doibt eſtre,
Tout auſſy toſt vous verrez apparoiſtre
Perte ſur vous, & malheur qui ne fine,
Car grand diſcord tourne tout en ruyne,
Mais tant de temps que vous entreaymerez,
Proſperement en biens prouffiterez.
Qu'il ſoit ainſi chaſcun preigne vne fleſche
Entre ſes mains, & l'efforce & empeſche
De la briſer: Lors ſelon ſa deuiſe
Des troys enfans, chaſcun ſa fleche briſe.
Prenez dit il, & enſemble amaſſez,
Chaſcune fleche, & puis vous efforcez
De les briſer: Les enfans obeyrent,
Enſemblement toutes les fleches meirent
En vng trouſſeau, mais nul tant feuſt puiſſant,
Ne les rompit. Le pere eſiouyſſant
Leur diſt: Enfans tant qu'enſemble ſerez
Par amytié, aulcun mal vous n'aurez,
Mais quand l'amour entre vous ceſſera,
Tout voſtre bien alors ſ'effacera.

Stephen Rawles
University of Glasgow
Gilles Corrozet, Hecatomgraphie. Paris: Denis Janot, 1540: E8vo-F1ro. Image courtesy of Library, University of Glasgow. https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FCGa033 (recto)

AMYTIÉ ENTRE LES FRERES

In amongst Corrozet's ponderous moralising, I find a metaphor for the European Union, and by implication, the consequences of the UK's folly in leaving. The UK is breaking its single arrow; the EU is retaining strength and influence by keeping its arrows together. Of course, applying the same logic to the UK itself opens another spectrum of division / unity: where should Scotland (where I live) place its arrow - in the UK bundle or the EU bundle?

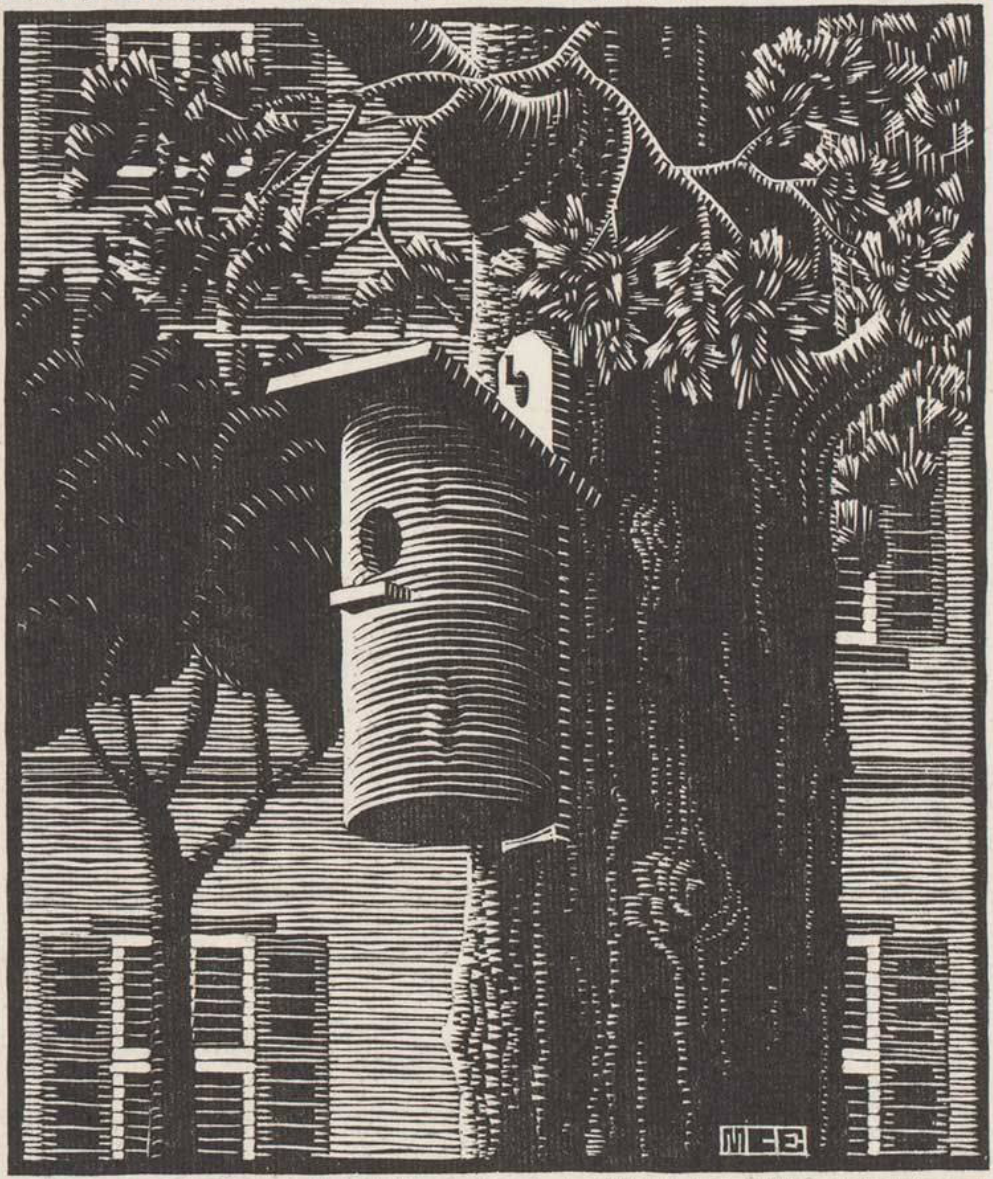
But these are side-issues in the context of friendship in the SES. The Society keeps its arrows together well: let us not assign anyone to the role of the dying father, but rather reflect on the way in which the young scholars have joined in, worked together, and assisted the development of our discipline, building on the work of the older colleagues.

LATEBRA TUTA DEPRAVATIO ANIMI

In the period March-June 1931 the famous Dutch artist M.C. Escher (1898-1972) created a series of woodcuts with emblemata. The motto's and poems were written by his good friend, the art historian G.J. Hoogewerff (1898-1972). The motto could be translated as: 'A safe retreat, a corrupted soul' and the poem as: 'A refuge pure and fine, Corruption too, at best. A half-unnatural nest. A dwelling to mankind'. I found this emblem (and the English translation) on the Facebook site of the Museum Escher in het Paleis The Hague, while I was searching for an emblem that encompasses the main problem the Covid-lockdown presents: we simply need to reach out to each other to discuss and reflect on our scholarly work, otherwise this easily gets 'corrupted'.

Juliette Roding
Leiden University (retired)
M.C. Escher (woodcut) and G.J. Hoogewerff (motto, poem), 1931. Image courtesy of the Museum Escher in het Paleis The Hague.

LATEBRA TUTA DEPRAVATIO ANIMI

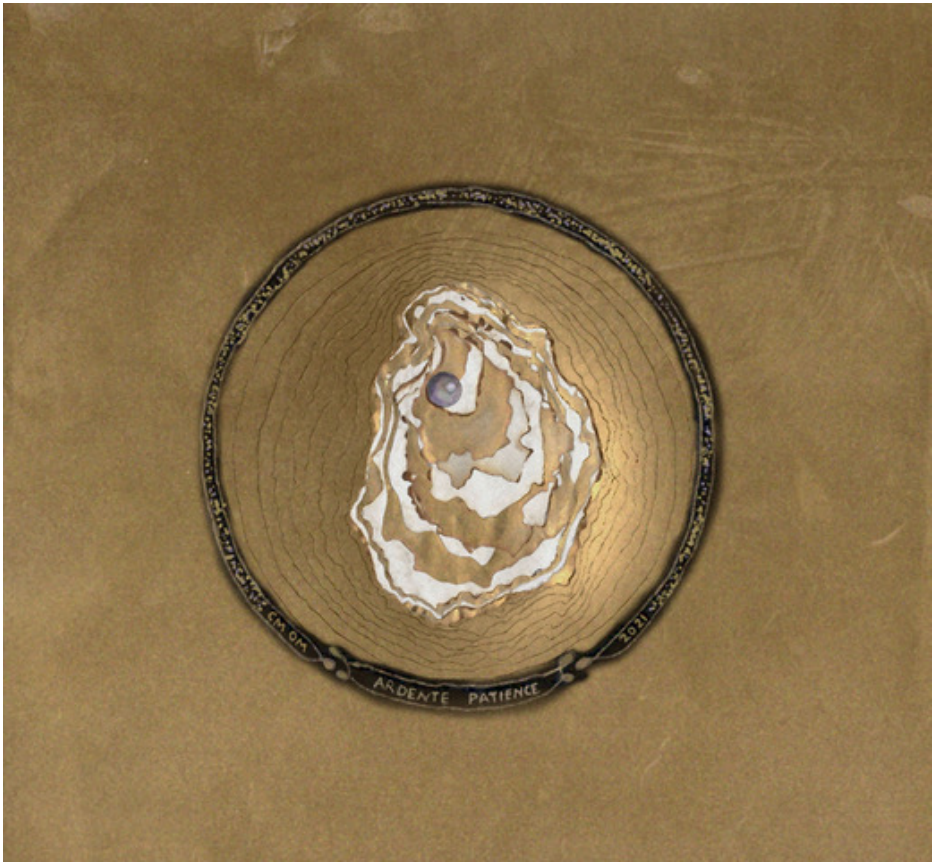


EEN TOEVLUCHT OP ZIJN SCHOONST,
ONTAARDING OP ZIJN BEST:
EEN HALF KUNSTMATIG NEST;
NAAR MENSCHENAARD EEN WOONST.

ARDENTE PATIENCE

'Ardente patience' is the compass rose that guides my interactions with the world. During the pandemic, it became a collective mantra: ardent patience in the face of fear and isolation until we can return to the spaces we used to inhabit. The motto derives from Rimbaud's Une Saison en enfer that Neruda echoes in his Nobel Prize lecture, "Towards the Splendid City". Skármeta's novel Ardiente paciencia quotes Neruda's speech and inspired Radford's film Il Postino. The image juxtaposes the nacre pearl surface against the coarse oyster shell while it conveys tension: ardor and patience are needed as the particle that irritates the mollusk slowly transforms into a pearl. The dual etymology of the term 'baroque' as irregular pearl and obstacle in a syllogism, reflects the ethos of this impresa.

Claudia Mesa Higuera
Moravian College
Original contribution from Claudia Mesa Higuera. Bethlehem, PA, 2021.
Image Credit: Olga Lucía Mesa Higuera, Pearl Compass (2021).


ARDENTE PATIENCE

ARDENTE PATIENCE

"Ardente patience" es el norte de la rosa que guía mi interacción con el mundo. En tiempos de pandemia se convirtió en un mantra colectivo: ardiente paciencia frente a la desolación, ardiente paciencia hasta regresar a los espacios que solíamos habitar. El lema proviene de un verso de Rimbaud en "Une Saison en enfer" que Neruda cita en su discurso de aceptación del Premio Nobel: "À l'aurore, armés d'une ardente patience, nous entrerons aux splendides Villes". Skármeta en su novela "Ardiente paciencia" incorpora el discurso de Neruda. La novela sirve como base para la película "Il Postino" de Radford. En la áspera coraza de la ostra y la superficie nacarada de la perla, se yuxtapone lo grotesco con lo bello. La imagen delata tensiones y opuestos: se necesita ardor y paciencia para que la partícula que irrita el molusco se transforme en nácar. La doble etimología del término "barroco" como perla irregular (barrôco) y obstáculo argumentativo (barocco), refleja el ethos de esta empresa.

Claudia Mesa Higuera
Moravian College
Contribución original de Claudia Mesa Higuera. Bethlehem, PA, 2021.
Crédito de imagen: Olga Lucía Mesa Higuera, "Cartografía de una perla" (2021).

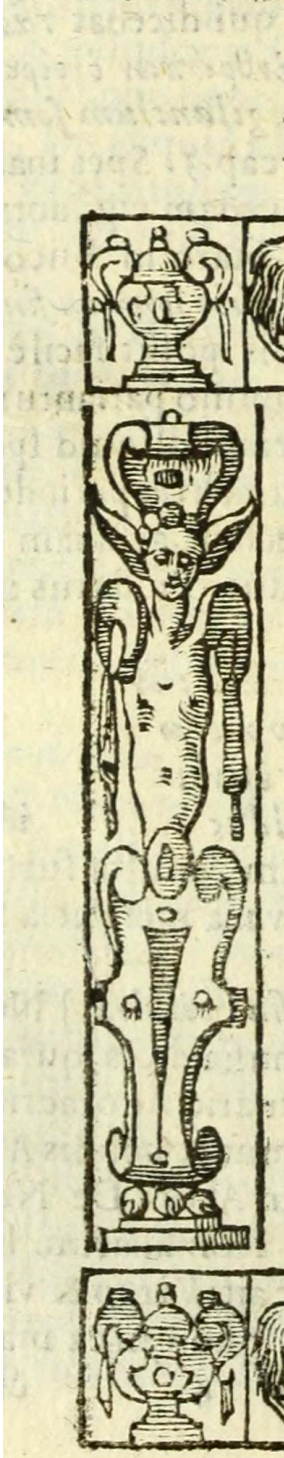
ARDENTE PATIENCE
2021

IN DIES MELIORA

Este emblema de Alciato ilustra la primera de las cartas que Salvador Dalí dirije a sus alter egos en Carta Abierta a Salvador Dalí, publicada en 1966, en Éditions Albin Michel (Ediciones Paidós Ibérica, 2003, p. 16).

La explicación facilitada por Dalí es la siguiente (pp. 17-19):

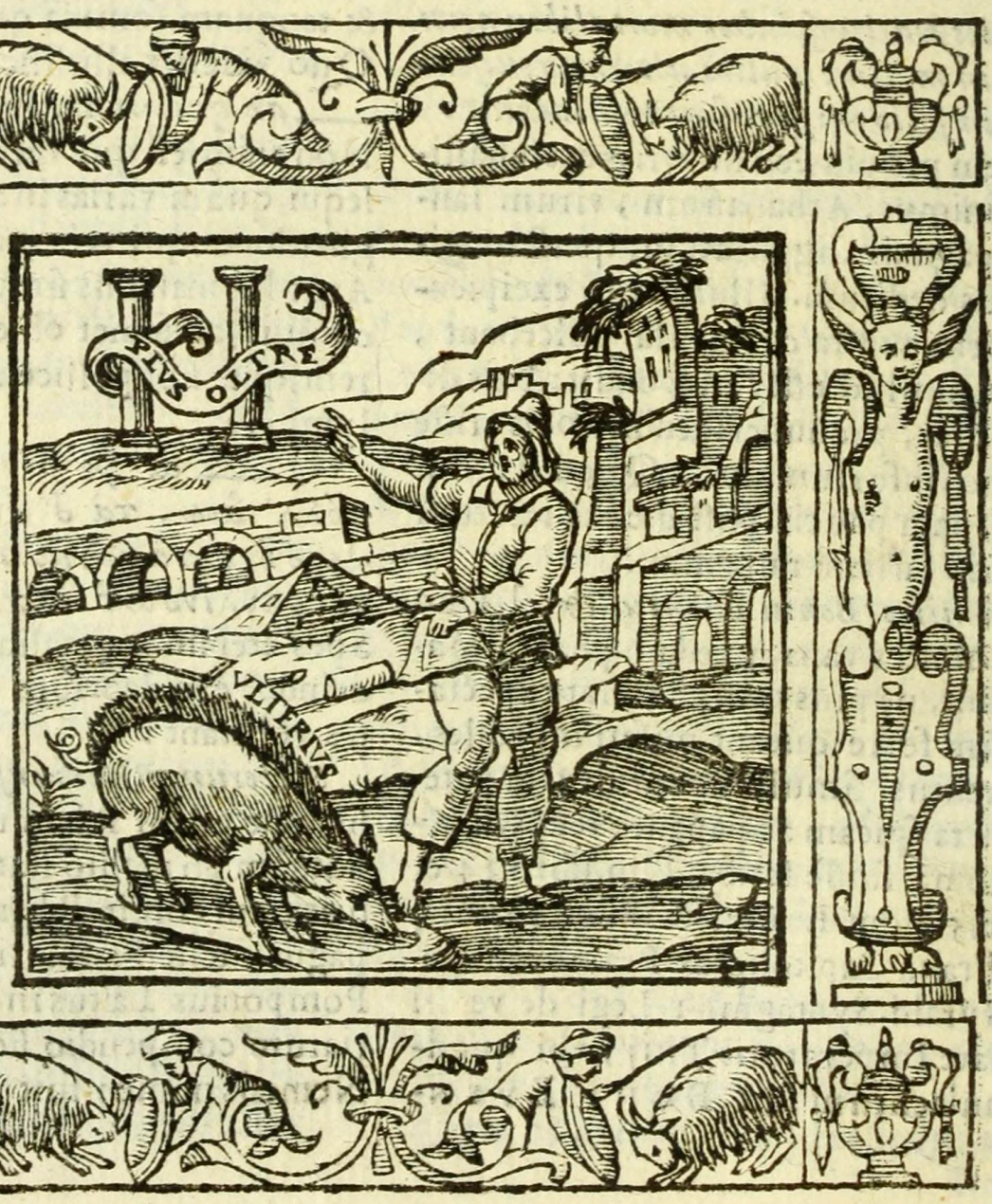
"Quizá, y sin el quizá, el momento histórico que abrió las flotas atlánticas al progeso científico moderno fue aquél en el cual el sublime emperador Carlos V hizo cambiar la inscripción de las Columnas de Hércules "non plus ultra" por "plus outre". Cosa que, según una alegoría de la épcoa, quería decir: convertir lo bueno en mejor. Como Dalí. Pues, a fin de cuentas, el divino Dalí no es más que un cerdo. Y él es, precisamente, ese cerdo que, en dicha alegoría, figuraba a los pies de las dos Columnas de Hércules a manera de símbolo supremo a quien arremete siempre hacia adelante, retirándose jesuíticamente si tal es su gusto, sin retroceder jamás, [...], deslizándose de lo bueno a lo mejor, [...]"



Juan M. Monterroso Montero
Universidad de Santiago de Compostela
Andrea de Alciato. Emblemata. Padua. Petro Paulo Tozzi. 1621

In dies meliora.

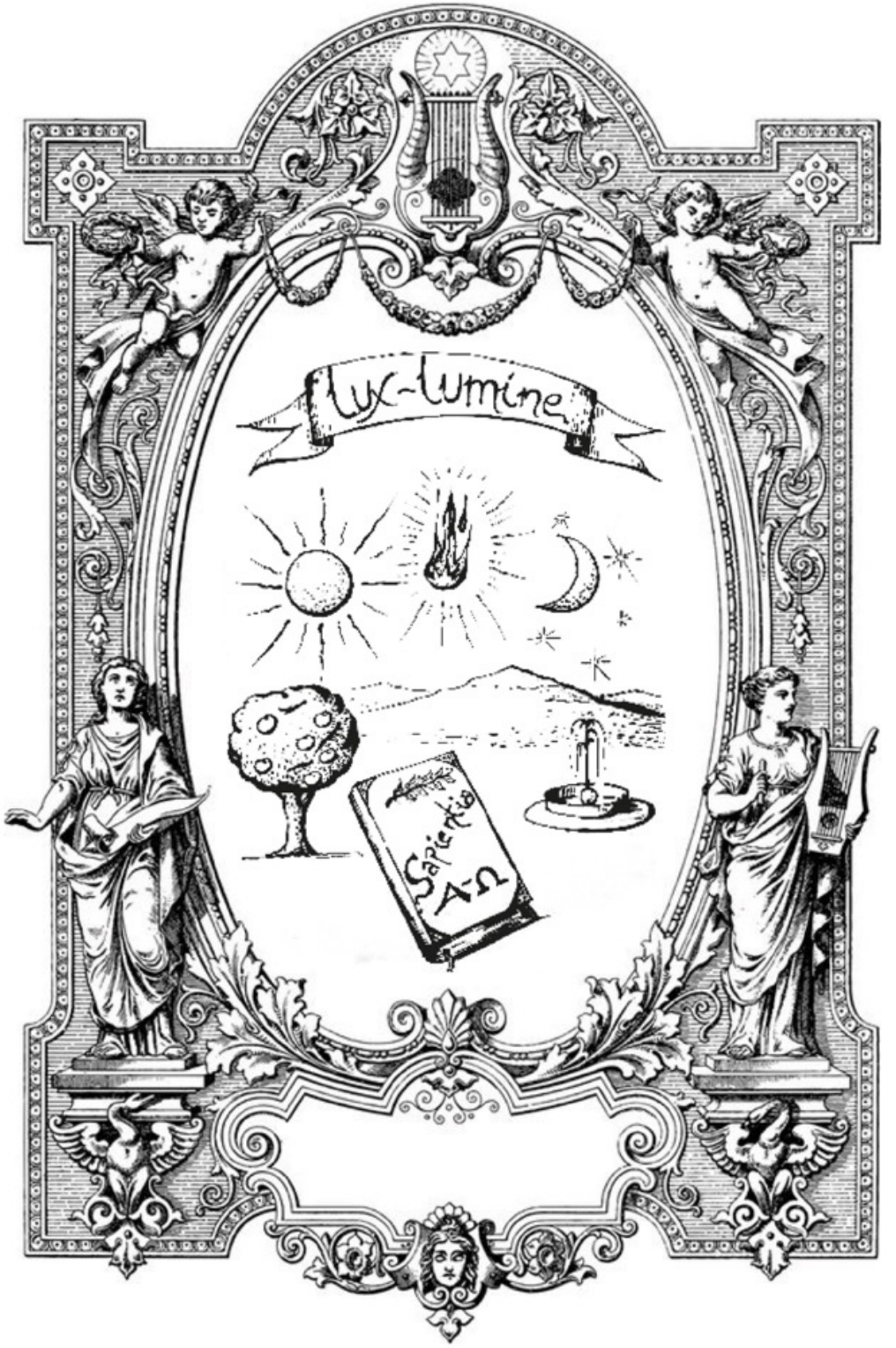
EMBLEMA XLV.



LUX LUMINE

Como noche y día llama fulgente
Encierras en tus hojas todo el saber.
Pues como árbol que crece fuerte,
Es fuente y anhelo de todo ser.
Parnaso teñido de sabiduría,
Castalia pura de camino largo,
De tu alfa y omega brotaría,
Al lector todo lo dulce y amargo
Por ti luz del mundo ciencia pura,
Es conocida y libre de atadura.

Francisco José García Pérez
Junta de Andalucía


Lux-lumine
Sapientia
A-Ω

DISPAR EXITUS

Juan de Arfe utiliza empresasen dos de sus custodias procesionales más importantes . En la de la catedral de Valladolid (1590), una está protagonizada por la Y simbólica; sobre la que se representa el caduceo. Todo ello flanqueado por dos ramas de diferente género, una de ellas, la de la derecha con tres coronas. El mote reza "DISPAR EXITVS". Como no puede ser de otra manera, todo el programa iconográfico, se quiere aludir a la práctica eucarística y sus beneficios.

Patricia Andrés González
Universidad de Valladolid
Juan de Arfe, Custodia procesional catedral de Valladolid. Vid. en "Emblemática y orfebrería en Castilla y León: La custodia de Juan de Arfe en la Catedral de Valladolid", en PAISAJES EMBLEMÁTICOS: LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA IMAGEN SIMBÓLICA EN EUROPA Y AMÉRICA, Mérida, 2008, vol. II, pp. 534.

Deſidiam abijciendam.

EMBLEMA LXXXII.

QVIS QVIS iners, abeat. Nam in chœnice figere ſedem
Nos prohibent Samÿ dogmata ſancta ſenis.
Surge igitur, duroq́ manus aſſueſce labori,
Det tibi dimenſos craſtina vt hora cibos.

COMMENTARII.

I. SEDENT duo viri deſides & otioſi, habitu vili & pannoſo, alter manu in ſinum inſerta: ego alterutri malim ſupponere modium, vt huic inſideret, ſic enim videtur velle epigramma.

II. *Symbolũ Pythagoræ.* PYTHAGORAS Samius inter alia rectè viuendi præcepta hoc præcipuè cõmendabat: μὴ ἐπὶ χοίνικα καθίσειν. id eſt: *Ne chœnici inſideas.* Quod Plutarchus de educatione pueror. ita exponit: φεύγειν ἀργίαν, καὶ προνόειν, ὅπως τὴν ἀναγκαίαν παρασκευάσωμεν τροφήν. id eſt: *Fugere otium, & proſpicere quemadmodum neceſſarium paremus cibum.* Diogenes Laertius in vita Pythagoræ ait: *In chœnice non ſedendum*: id eſt, ex æquo futuri habendam curam; chœnix enim diurna eſca eſt. Huius ſymboli Pythagorici diuerſæ feruntur expoſitiones, ſed hanc Plutarchi ſequutus eſt hic Alciatus, & libro 1. Parerg. cap. 17. cuius explicationem malumus ab ipſo repetere (cùm ſit locus obuius) quam ab aliis quibusq; tametſi doctiſſimis emendicare, vt ſumus initio polliciti. Sic itaq; ibi ille: Sciendum eſt, inquit, apud Athenienſes fuiſſe menſuram tritici, quãtum quiſque *Chœn quid*

Alciato, *Emblematum liber*, "Desidiam abiiciendam",
(Que los hombres no han de ser perezosos).

Jóvenes de vida ociosa que ni estudian ni trabajan. Idolatran a futbolistas, youtubers o influencers, esos héroes sin leyendas del siglo XXI. Sueñan con ser como ellos de mayores, viven sin esforzarse, conectados a sus dispositivos y sentados durante horas. Juegan en red y suben contenidos triviales a sus redes sociales. Piensan que la sociedad tiene obligaciones con ellos cuando en verdad son un producto más del consumismo, ¡una oveja más dentro del rebaño!

Autor: Sonia Rios-Moyano
Elaborado en http://www.pixton.com/es

Quà Dij vocant, eundum.

EMBLEMA VIII.

IN triuio mons eſt lapidum : ſupereminet illi
Trunca Dei effigies, pectore facta tenus.
Mercurij eſt igitur tumulus: ſuſpende viator
Serta Deo, rectum qui tibi monſtret iter.
Omnes in triuio ſumus, atque hoc tramite vitæ
Fallimur, oſtendat ni Deus ipſe viam.

COMMENTARII.

1. PICTVRAM hanc feliciter reſtituit Pigiorius, idq; ex Autoris mente. In triuio ſiquidem cernitur aceruus lapidũ, cui ſuperimpoſitus Mercurius ἐνόδιος, truncus brachijs, & pectore tenus. Mittebant enim viatores lapides ad pedes Mercurij religionis gratia: atq; inde erat, quod ſimulacrum illud effingebatur pectore tenus, ne opera & ſumptus fruſtra conſumeretur in partibus inferioribus elaborandis, quæ mox eſſent lapidibus obruendæ. Citat inſuper eruditiſſimum Commentariũ Hieronymi Aleãdri, in quo ille Solis Pan-Theologiam, ex antiquorum ſententia elegãter aſſeruit.

HVIVS Emblematis character mihi videtur penè ſumptus à Suida, ex quo didicimus Hermas eſſe Mercurij quaſdam ſtatuas: quo loco adducit Meneclem quendam, ſiue Calliſtratem in opere de Athenienſibus

Alciato, *Emblematum liber*, “Qua dii vocant, eundum”,
(Que hemos de ir por donde Dios nos llama)

Las pandemias acechan al hombre cada cierto tiempo.
El poder de la ciencia por encima de las rutinas.
La razón, la cordura y la responsabilidad colectiva antes que el yo individual. Los dioses modernos analizan datos para intentar prevenir el desastre global si no se escoge el camino adecuado.
De nuevo la encrucijada, pero esta vez mundial.
Escoge bien el camino y da un pequeño paso para el hombre que serán otro gran salto para la humanidad.

Autor: Sonia Rios-Moyano.
Elaborado en http://www.pixton.com/es

In ſubitum terrorem.

EMBLEMA CXXIII.

EFFVSO cernens fugientes agmine turmas:
Quis mea nunc inflat cornua? Faunus ait.

COMMENTARII.

FAVNVS homo ſemicaper (qualem deſcripſimus ſupra Emblem. 72. & 98.) redimitus erucæ foliis, currenti ſimilis effingitur, manu gerens magnum cornu: vbi veliem cornu torquile exprimi, quale Græci κόχλον appellant, nam tale Pan inueniſſe dicitur. Ante hunc conſpiciuntur equi cũ ſuis ſeſſoribus citatiſſimo curſu aufugere. Leonicus lib. 2 de var. hiſt. cap. 24. narrat, Faunos, qui etiam Satyri & Siluani appellantur, eſſe monſtra Aethiopica, ſpecie humana, cornigera, barbata, & caprinis pedibus, velociſſima, & valde luxurioſa.

Ex Polieni auctoris Græci Stratagematõn lib. primo tractum id emblema video: ſententiam ita reddere eſt Minos conatus: Pan Bacchi dux fuit. Is Pan primus aciem inuenit, quam phalangem nominauit. Dextrum etiam & ſiniſtrum cornu inſtituit: quæ cauſſa fuit cur ei cornua tribuantur. Primus etiam fuit, qui arte & calliditate hoſtes intercepit. Cùm enim aliquando qui miſſi fuerant exploratum, retuliſſent hoſtes in altera ſyluę concauæ parte caſtra metari, Pan eo accepto nũcio ſuis præcepit, vt ingentem clamorem tollerent, quibus ita conclamantibus, locis cernemoſis ſonus exceptus multò quidem maior exauditus eſt: quare perculſi metu hoſtes, ſtatim ſe in pedes coniecerunt. Quo ſtra-

Origo certiſſima Emblematis.

Pan dux Bacchi, & eius inuentum.

Alciato, *Emblematum liber*. “In subitum terrorem”,
(El repentino espanto)

El miedo es una emoción primitiva y su máxima expresión es el terror. Los sentidos se ponen en alerta y la amígdala se activa. Miedo ante una situación, ante un peligro real o figurado. Infundir terror puede ser un instrumento de control de las masas. También puede ser fruto de actos vándalicos donde esos faunos contemporáneos, que miran para otro lado, se mofan de las masas que corren despavoridas sin rumbo ni dirección. ¡Cuídate de las estampidas!

Autor: Sonia Rios-Moyano.
Elaborado en http://www.pixton.com/es

EXEMPLVM PERSEVERANTIAE MELIOR QVAM FAMA

Observe the beaver
How he fells the tree:
He must gnaw continually
In order to reach his aim.

Perseverance is the key
That is how he achieves his reward.
If you imitate him in this way
You, too, will reach your goal.

Dietrich Bieber

Sieh' den Biber du allhier,
Wie den Baum zu Fall er bringt:
Stetig nagen muss das Tier,
Bis die Arbeit ihm gelingt.

Beharrlichkeit ist ihm gegeben.
So bekommt es, was es braucht.
Folg' ihm nach in deinem Streben,
Und dein Zeil erreichst du auch.

*„Bundsgenossen“, in Anlehnung an Andreas Alciatus, Emblematum libellus, Paris 1542, Emblem 2.
Ingrid Höpel

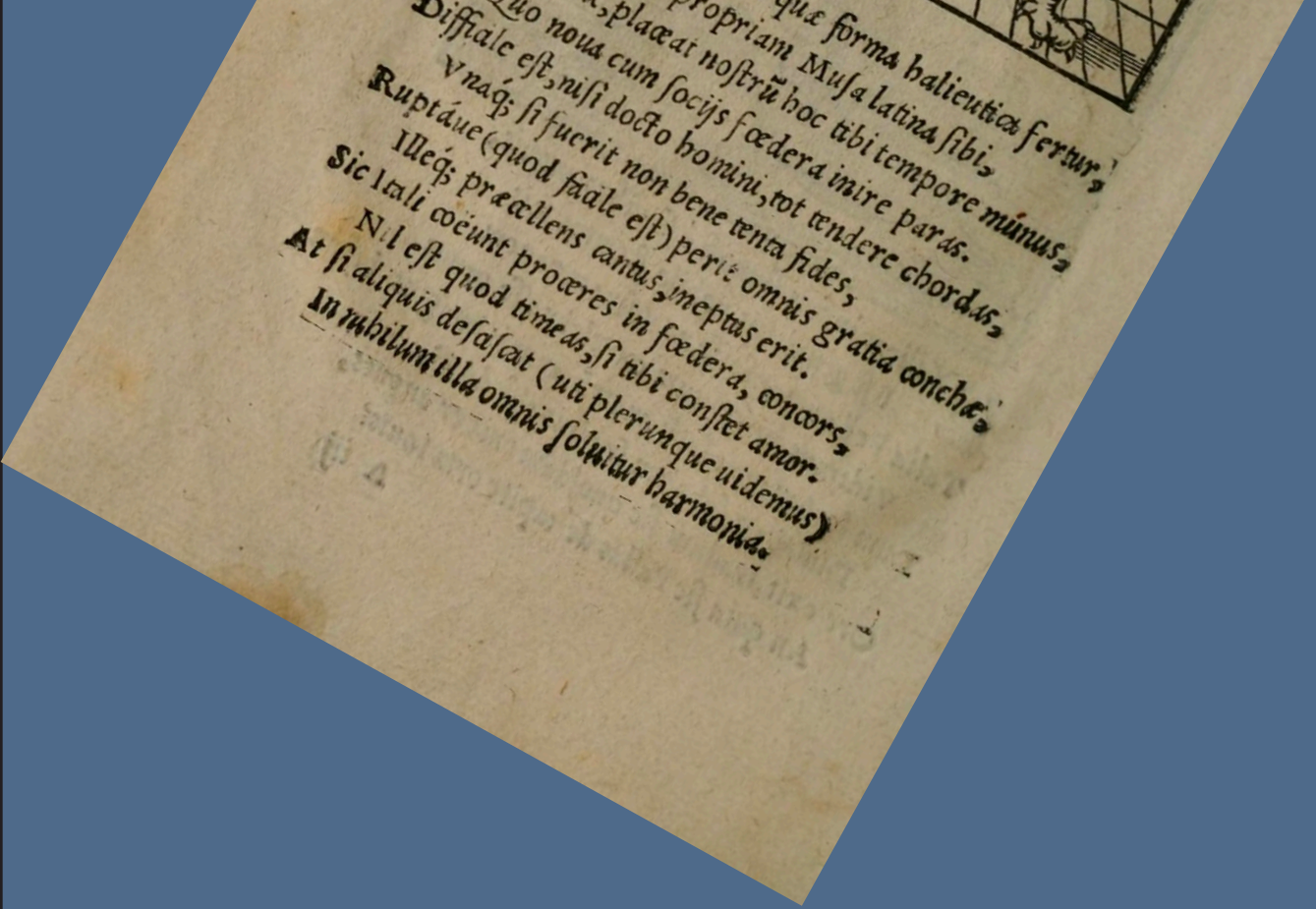
FOEDERA*

Einklang durch Vielklang.

Die Laute auf ihrem Bett mit den Klauenfüßen:
Zusammen klingen ihre Saiten,
gehen Bündnisse ein,
stehen für das Gelingen gemeinsamer Vorhaben.
Wenn eine Saite sich weigert mitzuklingen,
wenn Harmonie sich in Missklang verwandelt,
müssen alle Vorhaben scheitern.
Wenn aber eine Saite einen neuen Ton anstimmt,
eine Stimme die Melodie variiert,
verändern sich vielleicht
die Ohren, die hören.

Fœdera. II.

Hanc ætheram, ì lembi
Vendicat &
Acápe Dux



quæ forma halieutica fertur,
propriam Musa latina sibi.
Quo nouus cum socijs fœdera inire paras.
placeat nostrũ hoc tibi tempore munus,
Difficile est, nisi docto homini, tot tendere chordas,
Vnaq; si fuerit non bene tenta fides,
Ruptáue (quod fáile est) perit omnis gratia concha,
Illeq; præcellens cantus, ineptus erit.
Sic Itali cœunt proceres in fœdera, concors,
Nil est quod timeas, si tibi constet amor.
At si aliquis desaßat (uti plerunque uidemus)
In nihilum illa omnis soluitur harmonia.

VITA ELEGANS

"Vita elegans" es el emblema número 24 del libro de 1575 que trabajan con mucho esfuerzo Alejandro Martínez Sobrino, en la traducción y Radhis Curí en lo comentarios, notas e índices. En este emblema en cuestión, grabado de los hermanos Wierix, se aprecia al comerciante, su postura, la mesa, el diseño inquietante de esta y la composición en perspectiva de la imagen. Lo peculiar y hermoso, en cambio, es ella. Ella y sus alas. Jesús, detrás de la pared, esperando, llamando, advirtiendo… Ella gira el rostro y está confusa. Vacila entre la tiniebla y la luz. Todo lo demás, es fabuloso. ¿Permanecer en el dinero, la opulencia y la vida elegante o advertir los peligros del presente que rechazan al prójimo en su pobreza?

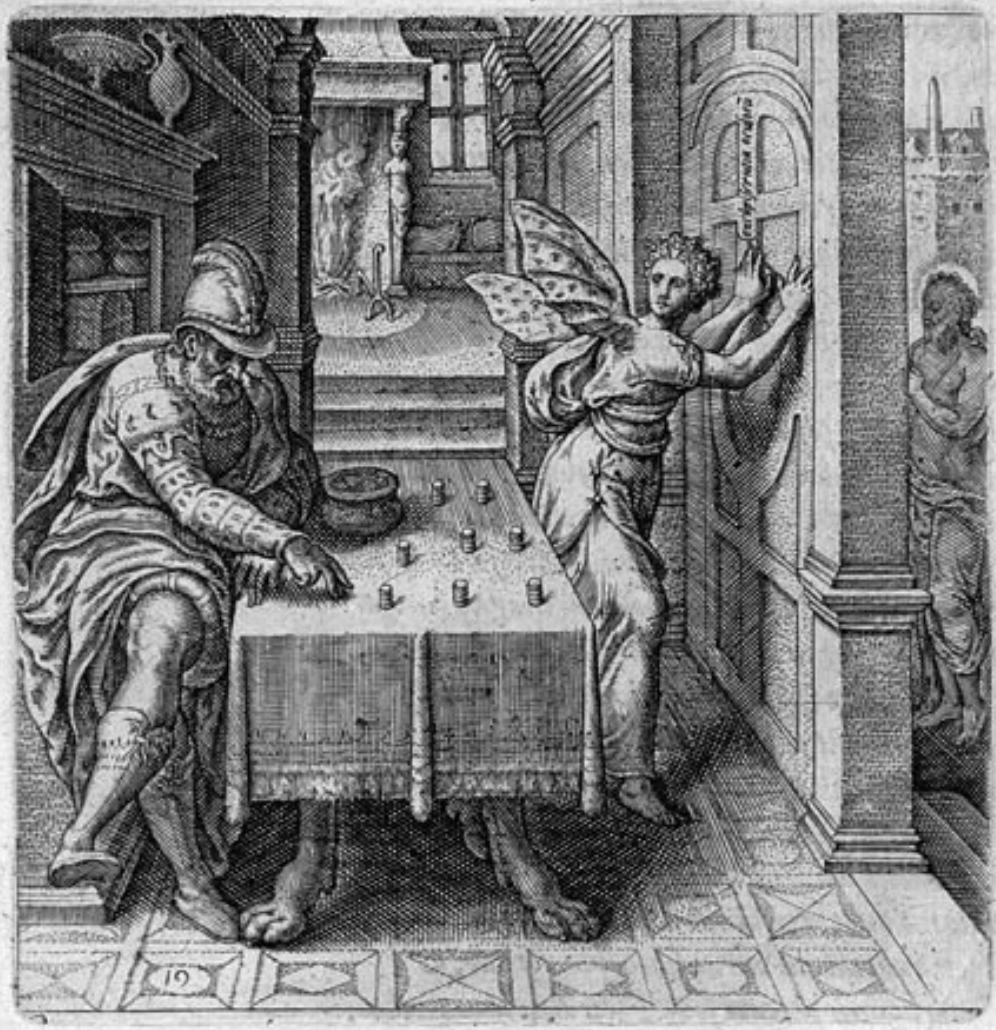
*"...pero los que esperan en el Señor renuevan sus fuerzas, echan alas como las águilas, corren y no se fatigan, caminan y no se cansan". (Is 40, 31).**

Radhis Curí

** Agradecemos a la profesora Beatriz Canals por sus luces en la cita bíblica que no pertenece al libro y añadiremos a posteriori.*

In die illo auferet Dominus ornamentum calceamentorum & lunulas, &c. & erit pro ſuaui odore fœtor &c.

Eſai. 3. 18.



Omnes oſtentant, quo ſeruant corpus, amictum:
Antea quem pardus vel pia geſſit ouis.
Et niſi ſic faciant, nullo videantur honore
Digni. Sic nudant Chriſte benigne tuos.

Hans Brandhorst

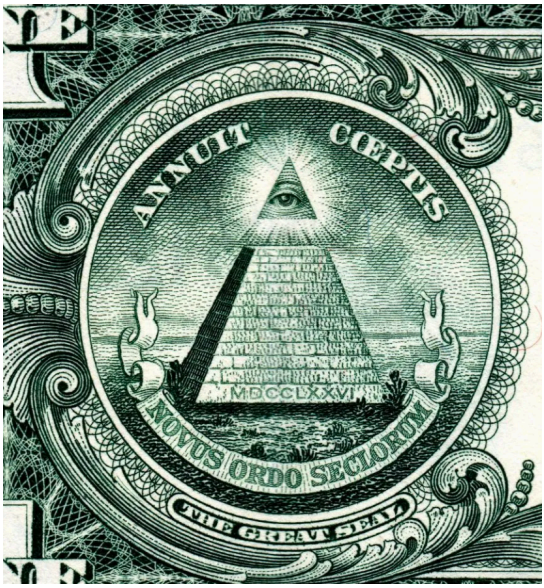
AT CORRVMPIT OVEIS PASTOR MALVS

A careless tutor corrupts the child,
a bad teacher spoils the student,
and a wicked king corrupts the nation:
Que ceux qui suivent la Cour, doivent
user prudemment de la Fortune

ANNUIT

[Aliud]

ANNUIT COEPTIS



Sometimes emblems erupt spontaneously. And here is a nefast example: an insurrectionist jumps from the public gallery to the floor of the Senate right in front of the motto of the Great Seal of the United States: *Annuit Coeptis* ['he favours our undertankings'].

Pedro Germano Leal
Image Copyright: Win McNamee / Getty Images). Fair Use.

PER NOCTEM POTEAMUS
ET PER DIEM DORMIMUS SIESTAM

Los organizadores del III Simposio Internacional de Emblemática Hispánica, que tuvo lugar en Castellón y Benicassim (España) en octubre de 1999, tuvieron la brillante idea de convocar una exposición de emblemas/empresas compuestos por los participantes, que fueron exhibidos en camisetas durante el encuentro y posteriormente publicados en las actas. Nuestra propuesta, que aquí recuperamos, aunque en apariencia contradictoria (¿un musulmán tomando una cerveza?) era en realidad una empresa personal (con la "licencia" de incorporar la figura humana a este tipo de composiciones) que aludía en clave nostálgica a mis años de estudiante universitario, cuando mi nombre "de guerra" era "J. J. el Turko", y cuando tomar unas cervezas al terminar las clases constituía casi una señal de identidad. Véase como un homenaje en clave humorística a la alegría de vivir.

José Julio García Arranz
Universidad de Extremadura

PER NOCTEM POTEAMVS ET PER DIEM DORMI MVS SIESTAM

Ex bello pax.

EMBLEMA CLXXVII.

En galea, intrepidus quam miles gesserat, &
Sæpius hostili sparsa cruore fuit:
Parta pace apibus tenuis concessit in vsum
Alueoli, atque fauos, gratáq; mella gerit.
Arma procul iaceant: fas sit tunc sumere bellum
Quando aliter pacis non potes arte frui.

AN EPIC STORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR

Stanley Kubrick's

FULL METAL JACKET

WARNER BROS PRESENTS STANLEY KUBRICK'S FULL METAL JACKET

STARRING

MATTHEW MODINE ADAM BALDWIN VINCENT D'ONOFRIO LEE ERMEY DORIAN HAREWOOD ARLISS HOWARD

KEVYN MAJOR HOWARD ED O'ROSS SCREENPLAY BY STANLEY KUBRICK MICHAEL HERR GUSTAV HASFORD

BASED ON THE NOVEL THE SHORT-TIMERS BY GUSTAV HASFORD CO PRODUCER PHILIP HOBBS EXECUTIVE PRODUCER JAN HARLAN PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY STANLEY KUBRICK

José Julio García Arranz
Universidad de Extremadura
Emblem 'Ex bello pax', from Andrea Alciato. Emblemata. Antwerp: Plantin & Raphelengius, 1608: emblema 177, p. 184. Colección personal del autor / cartel original del film Full Metal Jacket (Stanley Kubrick, 1987) (recto et passim)

ANDREA ALCIATO VERSUS STANTEY KUBRICK

En el cartel de las Jornadas Relaciones entre texto e imagen en la Edad Moderna y Contemporánea: del emblema a los medios de masas, que tuvieron lugar en Cáceres (España) en diciembre de 1996, se dispusieron enfrentados, como aquí vemos, el emblema de Andrea Alciato Ex bello pax y la cartelera del film Full Metal Jacket (Stanley Kubrick, 1987). Con ello se trataba de mostrar, no solo que la emblemática es un fenómeno que sigue absolutamente vigente en el momento actual: con la inclusión de elementos de significados contrapuestos en ambas picturae (referidos simultáneamente a la guerra y la paz) se pone de manifiesto la capacidad de la cultura simbólica para poner de manifiesto las contradicciones internas del periodo histórico al que pertenecen, ya sea los albores del Renacimiento, o las décadas finales del siglo XX.

LA "SIRENA" EMBLEMÁTICA DE VILLANUEVA DE LA SERENA

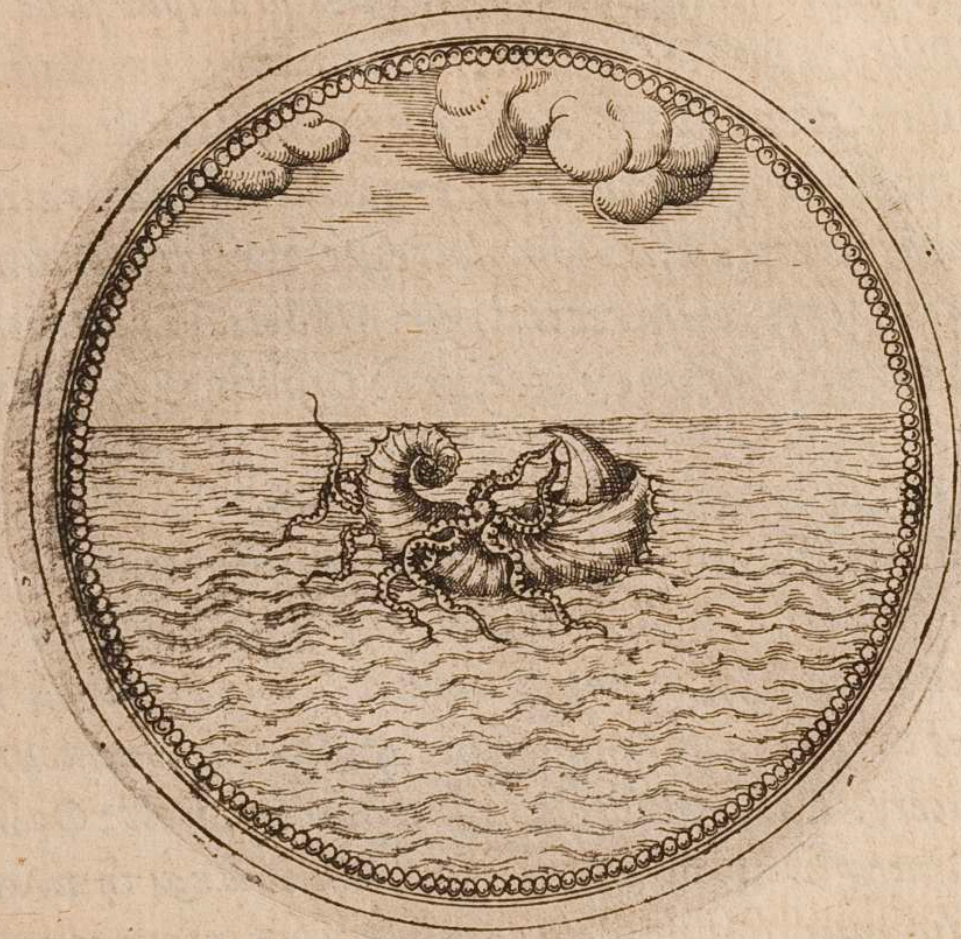
Emblema manuscrito de propiedad particular (Don Benito, Badajoz, España)

El emblema manuscrito que aquí presentamos, actualmente conservado en un legajo de propiedad particular con documentación relativa a los preliminares para la publicación del comentario de un texto de Ambrosio de Milán, fue compuesto en 1674 por fray Luis Francisco Ruiz de la Peña. Con la pictura –dibujo a plumilla de autoría anónima que representa a una sirena tocando un violín entre las olas del mar, claramente inspirado en un emblema de Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias (Emblemas morales, 1589: II, 30)–, el epigrama en acrósticos y una extensa explicación o declaratio, el franciscano diserta en torno al motivo de la sirena para trazar un apasionado panegírico de las bondades de Villanueva de la Serena (Badajoz, España), localidad en la que el franciscano ejerció su labor como "maestro de latinidad", conectando el ser mitológico con el nombre de la población.

José Julio García Arranz
Universidad de Extremadura

Alumnus genitrix munus hoc tibi serostichia sacrat
Carmina, contexens discursu dogmata Pauli.

Sed meo culto calamo percurrere tyma[illegible]
et decus egregium patriæ memorare diverti,
edi sicani adsit Tymbræus carmina [illegible],
tinea Veridum fluescant verba nitor[illegible],
que Maro posset pl[illegible]elbo comprendere fora,
nec Pidum [illegible]alia numine fat[illegible],
non aliter Naso pulchrè laudare Corinnam,
orbatus faciam quid sacro flamine mun[illegible]?
Latia nugis tendit sine viribus ardor;
ingeis sitentum pabia nunc prodire vellem
vectos nunquam posse mi signare triumphos.



Nautilus ut placidum & ſævum mare ſuſtinet æquè,
Sic itidem fortis ſorte in utraque animus.

I always liked the Nautilus especially. Still a child, I collected a fossile Nautilus in the 150 millions of years old stone formation called Black Jura near Stuttgart. In the early seventies of the last century, I bought the house of a recent Nautilus from the Pacific Ocean in a museum shop at Toronto. And I learned at about the same time from the Emblems of Joachim Camerarius (1605, vol. IV, 49) that the Ancients believed that the Nautilus used his six legs and his sail like membrane in fine weather for navigating through the sea and that he, in stormy weather, closed his house by that membrane and waited at the bottom of the sea until the sun returned.

On that basis, Camerarius produced a fine emblem with the picture of an Nautilus swimming on the sea, the motto Tutus per summa, per ima and the distich:

> Nautilus ut placidum et saevum mare sustinet aeque,
> Sic itidem fortis sorte in utraque animus.
>
> [As the Nautilus sustains the pleasant and the stormy sea in the same way, thus the brave spirit also endures both fortunes.]

Walther Ludwig
Joachim Camerarius, Symbolorum et Emblematum centuriae tres [...] Editio secunda, auctior & accuratior. Accessit noviter centuria IV. Ex aquatilibus & reptilibus, Typis Voegelianis. Anno M. D. C. V., IV., Nr. 49.

FUORI GENIO
RSUBL

PAVPERTATE PREMO

PAVPERTATE PREMOR
SVBLEVOR INGENIO

Vt me pluma levat, sic sarcina praegrauat ingens:
Paupertate premor sublevor ingenio

[As the feathers lift me, this burden weighs me down:
Opressed by poverty, elevated by genius]

Inscriptio and subscriptio: Gabriel Rollenhagen's Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda (1613)
Pictura: matte painting/digital collage by Pedro Germano Leal after Goltzius, Passe, Alciato and Post.

[Aliud]

SI CECIDERIS IBIS PATRIA

Sophia mihi dedit alas
Aliquantum laeviter paruulas
Ferre pondum non possunt
Domi mihi neque familiae
Dum salio ex ramo ad ramum
chartam porto sed nunquam librum.
Ecce vita scholastici in exsilium:
Si erras cades, si cecideris ibis patria.

Pedro Germano Leal

Michael Bath

MICHAELIS AQUÆ

Michaelis Aquæ Sulis
Fons amicorum
Non sine remissione

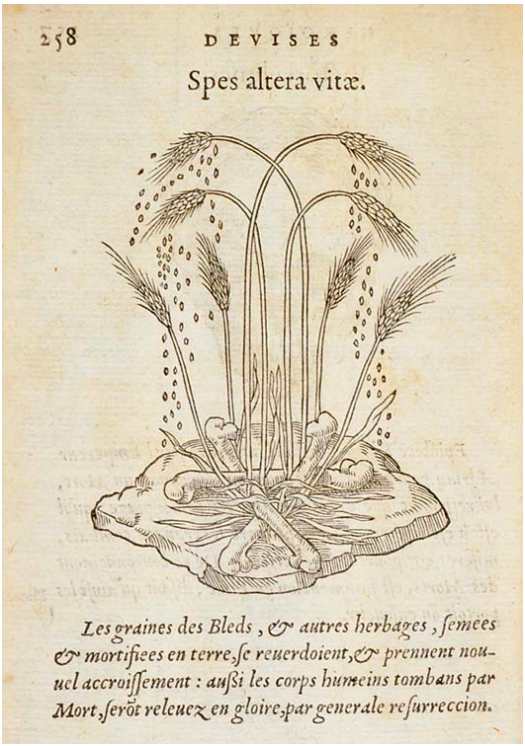
SPECTANTES PVBLICANTVR
David Graham

DVM ALTE EMIRANTVR, ADMIRANVR ALTE
Cirilo García Román

QVI INFRA CONTEMPLANTVR, EMBLEMATA NON VIDET
Pedro Germano Leal

SPES
ALTERA
VITÆ

SPES ALTERA VITAE



Stephen Rawles

PERVERSA IVDICIA

IVDICE *sub Tmolo concertaûre canentes*
Pan Pastor calamis, Cantor Apollo. lyra.
Et prolata Midæ fertur sententia, suaui
Stridula cui melior tibia censa cheli.
Ob quod tam absurdum indignatus æreston Apollo.
Illi Asini longas indidit auriculas.
Auriculas Asini fatuus Rex notus vt esset.
Dignas tam stolidi iudicio capitis.
SVNT *quibus eloquio sapientę, oquentia vana*
Plus placet: & vero simplice εὐλόγῳ.
O vtinam insignes asininis auribus essent.
Vt posset fatuos noscere quisque Midas.
Dicere quos merito, licet inuersos Apuleios,
Nam facie humana, cætera sunt Asini.

UN JUICIO PERVERTIDO

Concurrieron cantando ante Timolo
Pan, dios de los pastores, con flautillo,
con canora lira el divino Apolo.
Cuentan que dictó la sentencia Midas,
a quien plugo chirrioso caramillo
más que el dulce sonido de la lira.
Enojado Apolo, y muchísimo,
por ese designio tan sinsentido,
dióle largas orejas de borrico:
que a tan estúpido e insípido rey
lo reconociese al punto la grey,
solo con verle orejas de borrico,
merecidas por su insensato juicio.
Algunos hay a quienes más agrada
vanilocuencia que elocuencia sabia,
mentira y fábula que verdad llana.
¡Ay! ¡Ojalá por sus orejas de asno
fueran todos éstos bien notorios,
de modo tal que pudiéramos todos
conocer a estos Midas insensatos!
Dirías que son, con toda razón,
cual unos Apuleyos travestidos:
su aspecto es humano, lo demás asno.

PERVERSA IVDICIA

Iudice sub Tmolo concertavere canentes
Pan pastor calamis, cantor Apollo lyra.[1]
Et prolata Midae fertur sententia, suavi
Stridula cui melior tibia censa cheli.
Ob quod tam absurdum indignatus areston Apollo.
Illi asini longas indidit auriculas,
Auriculas asini fatuus Rex notus ut esset,
Dignas tam stolidi iudicio capitis.
SUNT quibus eloquio sapiente eloquentia vana
Plus placet: et vero simplice <ψ>ευδόμυθος.[3]
O utinam insignes asininis auribus essent,
Ut posset fatuos noscere quisque Midas
Dicere quos merito, licet inversos Apuleios,[2]
Nam facie humana, caetera sunt asini.
(Bartomolé Ánulo, i. e. Barthélemy Aneau, Picta poesis, Lugduni: apud M. Bonhome, 1552, pág. 91)

NOTAS

[1] Tmolus, divinidad de una montaña del mismo nombre en Lidia, en Asia Menor, fue encargado de presidir un tribunal para dirimir una rivalidad musical entre el dios Apolo y el dios Pan. Midas, retirado ya de su vida regalada de rey, era ferviente seguidor de Pan y asistió al juicio. Otorgó Tmolo la victoria a Apolo, y todos, estaban de acuerdo en el veredicto, salvo Midas, que emitió su voto particular a favor de Pan. Enojado Apolo por tal disidencia, le castigó con unas largas orejas de borrico (cf. Ovidio, «Metamorfosis, 11, 157 y ss.).

[2] Apuleyo (s. ii d. C.), es el autor de la única novela latina que nos ha llegado completa: «Las metamorfosis» o, como la bautizó Agustín de Hipona, «El asno de oro», cuyo protagonista, Lucio, vive diversas aventuras convertido parcialmente en asno, hasta recobrar de nuevo su figura humana al final de la obra. No faltan tampoco argumentos que ven en Lucio al propio Apuleyo.

[3] En la página web dedicada a los emblematistas franceses en Glasgow (cf. <https://goo.gl/ybkCUC>), se transcriben, con fidelidad al texto original, esos dos versos del

siguiente modo: Sunt quibus eloquio sapient,loquentia [= loquentia]. vana / Plus placet: & vero simplice ευδόμυθος. En la 2.ª ed. latina de la obra (1564) leemos: Sunt quibus eloquio sapien,eloquentia vana / Plus placet: et vero simplice ευψεμύθος. El primer verso es fácil de enmendar: sunt quibus eloquio sapiente, eloquentia vana. Pero la voz griega del segundo presenta más problemas: no existen ni ευδόμυθος, ni ευψεμύθος. Tras consultar con mi amigo Javier Alonso Aldama, hemos barajado en un primer momento tres conjeturas: ἐνδόμυθος, inexistente, ἐνδόμυχος («que se oculta en su interior, secreto, retirado»), o ἐχέμυθος («silencioso, reservado, discreto»), pero sus significados no tienen cabida en el contexto del epigrama, y mucho menos si se tiene en cuenta la versión en francés del mismo autor, publicada en el mismo año (véase la imagen). Al final hemos dado con una solución que combina los errores y los aciertos de la 1.ª y 2.ª edición: <ψ>ευδόμυθος («mentira, falsa historia, mentira fabulosa»), que es la que aquí ofrecemos en primicia. De todos los compuestos de –μυθος es el que mejor se amolda al epigrama de Bartolomé Ánulo. ¡Una conjetura, pues, de fábula!

Translation and notes by Cirilo García Román

UTINAM DIRIGANTUR VIAE MEAE AD CUSTODIENDAS JUSTIFICATIONES TUAS!

Vel

DESIRE

For those of you who like to see artists working with emblems, here is my attempt at "Utinam dirigantur viae meae ad custodiendas justificationes tuas!" Psalm 118. Source image by B. Boiswert from Pia Desideria, Potter edition published at Antwerp, 1657.

Carol Barbour, Desire (after Boiswert), oil on canvas board, 51x41 cm, 2018.

NVNQUAM DESIRIT
ROTA MOVENDO

A colleague of mine whose motto is 'While I'm awake, I'm at work' is moving on to another job. I made this emblem for him. Hope he likes it!

Simon McKeown

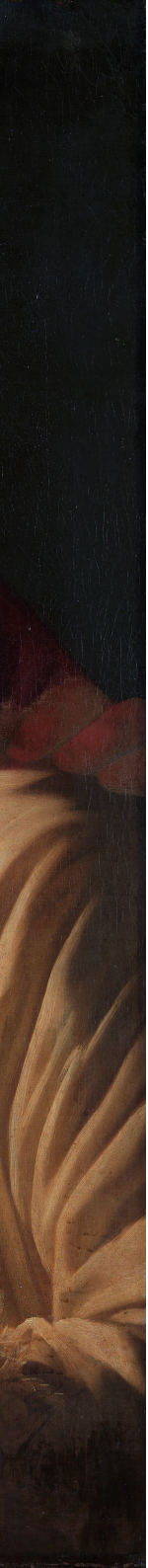
NUMQUAM DESIRIT
ROTA MOVENDO
CCS
MMXV

SHOULD WE EVEN TRY TO DEFINE THE EMBLEM?

"no comment"

Liz Black
2014

Should We Even Try
to Define the Emblem?



CHELLO CHE VO' LA FEMMENA FA!

[The woman does what she wants]

Pigliate la paletta e vae pi'ffoco
E va' alla casa di lu 'nnammurato
E passa duje ore 'e juoco.

Si mamma se n'addona 'e chiste juoco
Dille ca so' state falelle defoco,
E vule di' e llà, chello che vo'
la femmena fa!

Luce lu sole quanno è buonotiempo,
Luce lu pettu tujo, donna galante
Mpietto li tieni duje pugnali argiento.

A chi li tocchi bella, nci fasanto,
E ti li tocchi je ca so' l'amante
E 'mParaviso jamme certamente…

E vule di' e llà, chello che vo' la femmena fa!

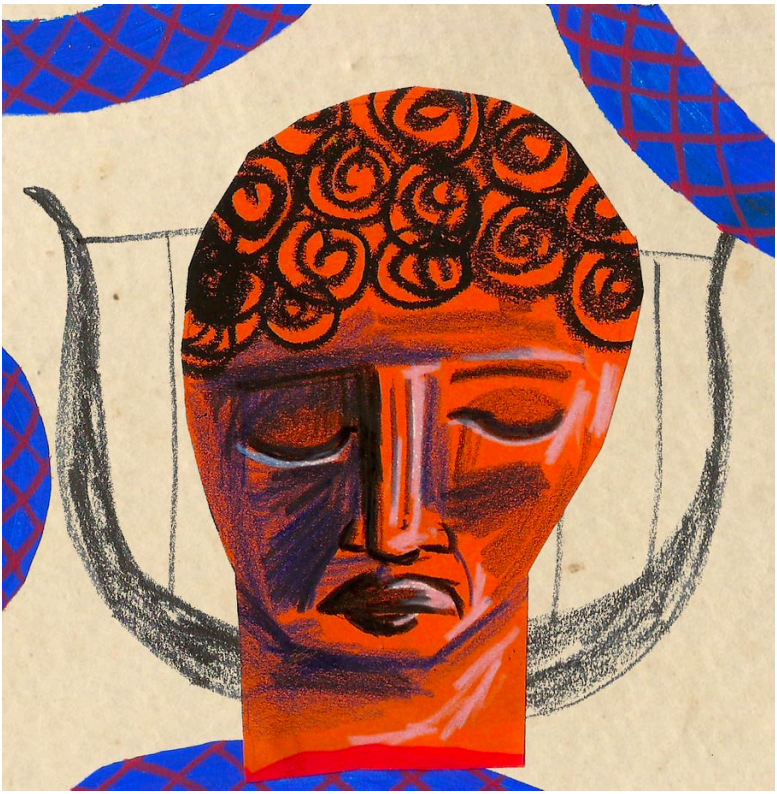
Pictura: Gerard van Honthorst (1590-1656), The soldier and the girl (c. 1620). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig.
Subscriptio: La Carpinese (traditional tarantella).
Emblem: Pauliane Amaral.

LE SERPENT

Tu t'acharnes sur la beauté.
Et quelles femmes ont été
Victimes de ta cruauté !
Ève, Euridice, Cléopâtre ;
J'en connais encor trois ou quatre.

Camilo Martins
Inscriptio and subscriptio:
Guillaume Apollinaire's Le Bestiaire ou
Cortège d'Orphée (1911)

L'ORPHÉE

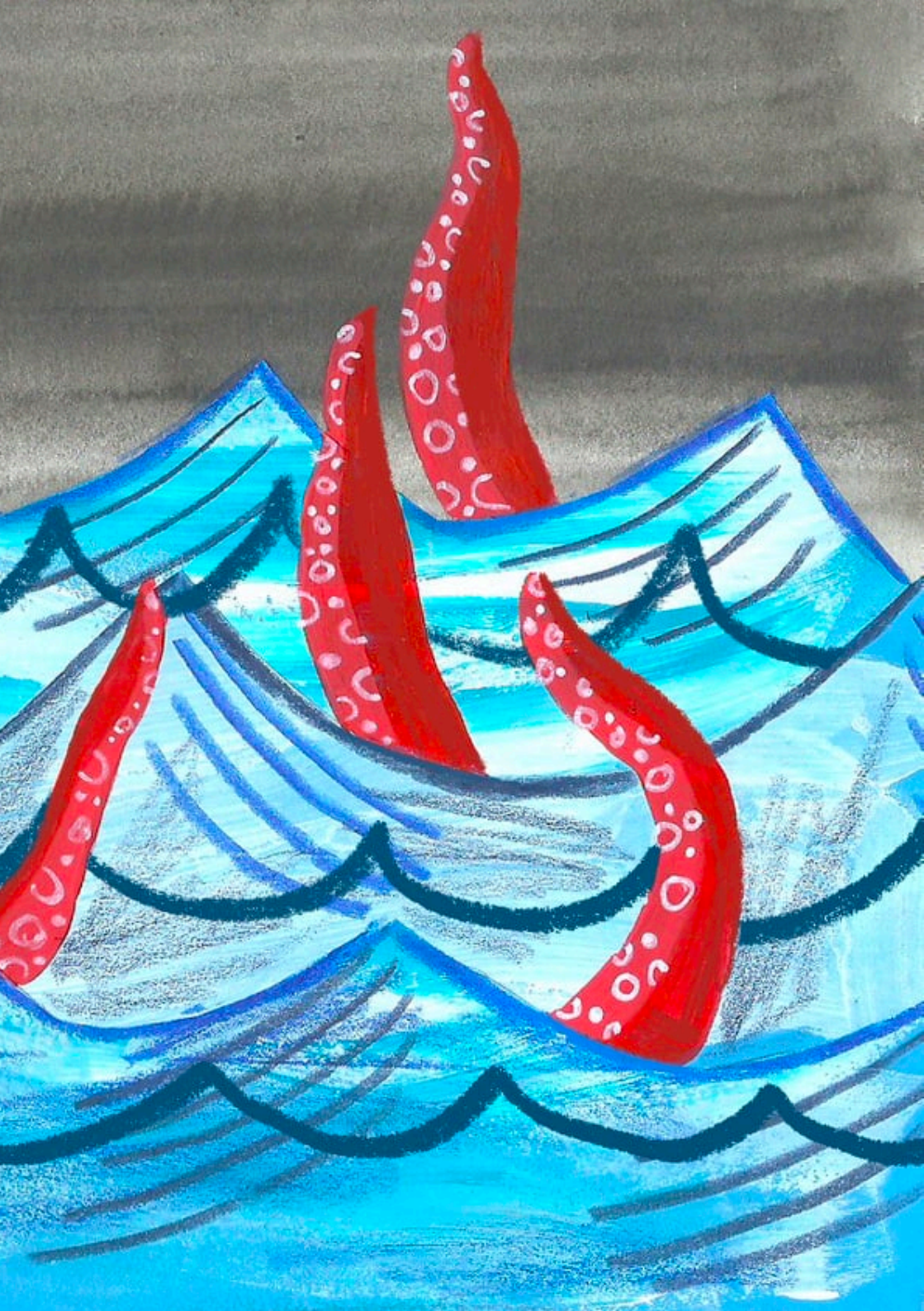


Admirez le pouvoir insigne
Et la noblesse de la ligne :
Elle est la voix que la lumière fit entendre
Et dont parle Hermès Trismégiste en son Pimandre.

LE POULPE

Jetant son encre vers les cieux,
Suçant le sang de ce qu'il aime
Et le trouvant délicieux,
Ce monstre inhumain, c'est moi-
même.

Camilo Martins
Inscriptio and subscriptio:
Guillaume Apollinaire's Le Bestiaire ou
Cortège d'Orphée (1911)



Antonio Gil Leal

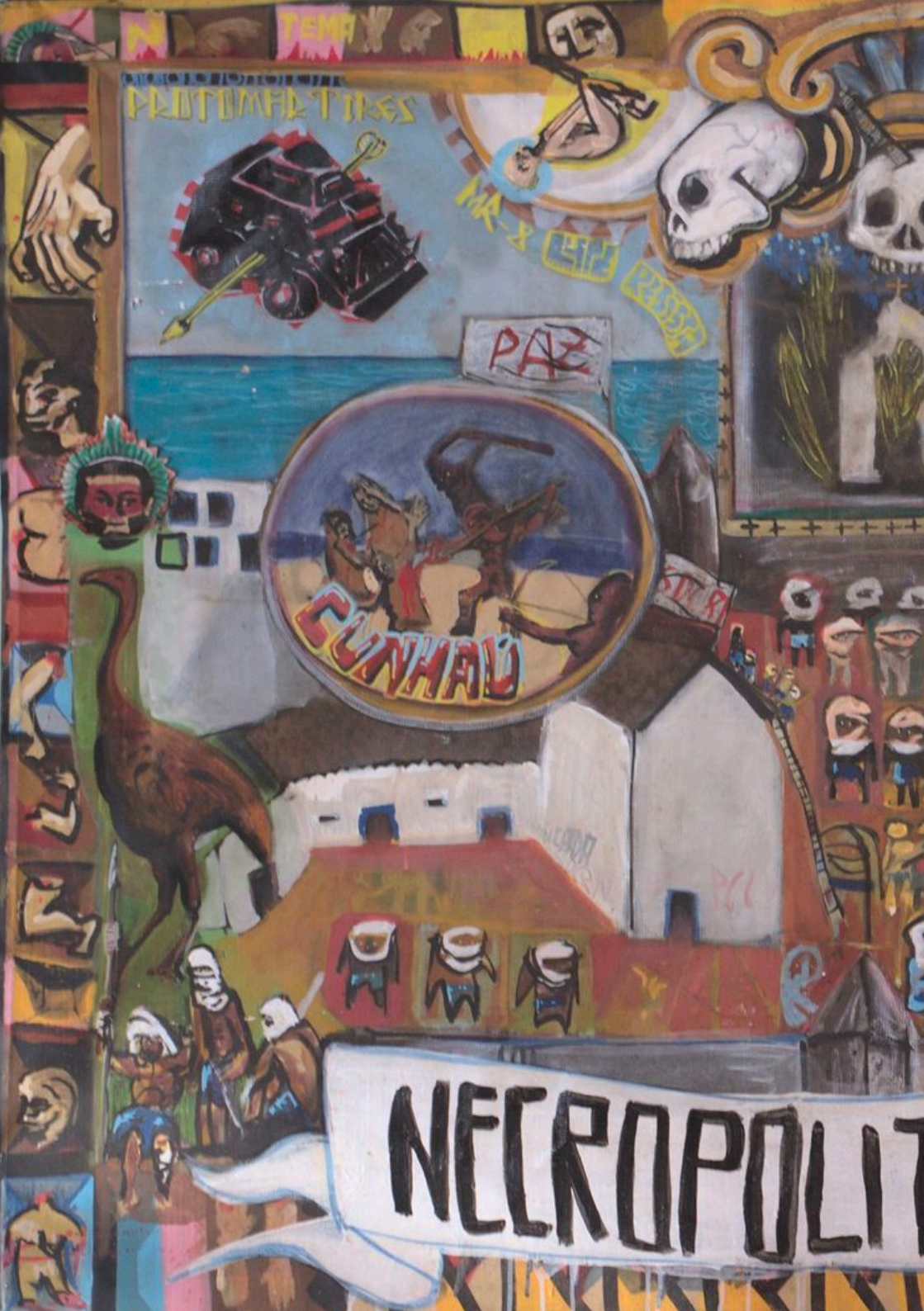
ID EGO SUPEREGO

GENVS PVGNAQVE

In antiquitatem aut etiam hodie
arma pauperum lapides:
Partes domorum suae
Partes tumba maiorum

Pictura: Antonio Gil Leal
Inscriptio and Subscriptio:
Pedro Germano Leal

P/A


PAZ
CUNHAU
NECROPOLIT

AI-5
†CONTAGEM DOS CORPOS†
ALCAÇUZ: 27†
RIO: 4 ANOS: 4.5 MIL ASSASSINATOS†
DITADURA: 434 MORTOS
1.2 MIL CAMPO
TICA...

Pictura: Antonio Gil Leal
Inscriptio and Subscriptio: Pedro Germano Leal

NECROPOLITICA

Historia repetitur
tragoedia tunc mimo:
Viuitne tum superat
Ubi colonia erat

PART TWO:
ANTHOLOGIA

Fig. 1: Detail of the "table d'attente", North facade of the castle at Écouen. With kind permission of the Musée national de la Renaissance. Château d' Écouen. Photo-©: M. C. Biederbick 2014.

THE PATH TO A GOLDEN AGE: OR WHY PLACE PLATO AND NOAH ON THE JOIST?

Maren C. Biederbick

The recreation of life is one of the most beautiful miracles this world can offer. It is an even greater miracle when a person has longed for it to happen for more than ten years; and even more so when the pressure to conceive has been attended by the overwhelming attention of a kingdom's people, and with the threat of a marriage annulment for the failure to produce an heir.

In 1544 Catherine de' Medici – who unexpectedly became crown-princess after the premature death of her husband's older brother – gave birth to her first child, Francis. The boy was named after both his deceased uncle and his grandfather, the King of France.

In the period, which has been retrospectively labelled the 'Emblematic Age' by a passionate group of scholars, it had become highly desirable for members of the European courts to express their own individuality through an apparently simple, yet in fact highly complex combination of text and picture. These devices were often worked into personal objects of all sorts and materials.

Good hope triumphs over hardship: ΑΜΗΧΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΥΕΛΠΙΣΤΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ, – or "Bringing light and peace of mind" (ΦΩΣ ΦΕΡΟΙ ΗΔΕ ΓΑΛΗΝΗΝ), as we find it in a double portrait of Catherine with her husband. He, too, is surely depicted with his text-and-image-combination too; together, they support a cornucopia, symbolic of fertility, filled with flames of love. [Fig. 2]

The perfection of Catherine's rainbow-device was praised for decades to come, long after she had chosen another sign more suitable to her new role as dowager queen.

The rainbow, recently reimagined as the symbol for diversity after having been used for peace, refers to the story of Noah, as found in Genesis 9, 8-17. Here, it signifies that life will never again be destroyed. Simultaneously, it forms an arch between the supernatural and the natural world. The image of the rainbow as a path might have increased in modern understanding and pop-culture with the superheroes of Jean Chalopin and by Marvel. One takes us into a children's version of Arcadia in the 1980s, the other as Bifrost into the Asgard of the Northern Mythology. The treasure of the Celtic leprechaun which is said to lie at the end of the rainbow might be another version of the Golden Age. Despite today's very positive connotations, or its physical explanation, the rainbow also carries intimidating connections to Helheim, the Last Judgement, and calamity.

For the Catholic Catherine de' Medici, who was taught Greek in a convent when she was eight years old, and who later received books by the Florentine Neo-Platonists, the rainbow could also be Plato's column, the passage to a better future.

Fig. 2: Rainbow-detail in the upper right corner of Antoine Caron's Portrait d'Henri II et de Catherine de Médicis, in: Histoire françoyse de notre temps date du règne de Charles IX (1560-1574). Louvre Département des Arts graphiques, Inv. RF 29.713.)]

While Girolamo Ruscelli wrote in 1584 that Catherine used this device already when she was still living among the relatives of her father (shortly after her birth she had become orphan), Pierre de Bourdeille [ca. 1540-1614] believed her father-in-law to be among the inventors of her sign; and Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée stated in 1977, that Catherine had adopted her device Amechanias Euelpistia Peri after the death of the king, Francis I. [Fig. 3]

Fig. 3: Rainbow-illustration: Le Imprese Illvstri Del S[ign]or Ieronimo Rvscelli. Aggivntovi Nvovam[en]te Il Qvarto Libro Da Vincenzo Rvscelli Da Viterbo ; Al Serenissimo Principe Gvglielmo Gonzaga Dvca Di Mantova Et Monferato, Venetia 1584, p. 117-118. University Library Kiel / Germany; Signature: Qh 3026.)

In 1987 Carl Benjamin Boyer calculated that within the history of scientific studies of the rainbow, the sixteenth century saw an outstanding multiplicity of books on the subject. A real marker of this growth of interest was the publication of Alessandro Piccolomini's Tractatus de iride in 1540.

Noah's peace in Plato's Golden Age – Catherine's rainbow-device not only meant her own happy transition from the state of being an orphan, her vulnerability as Europe's richest heiress, her fears that she might be the sterile wife of the heir of the French crown, and her final respected position as queen and mother of the future kings; it was also an agreement of leading by her ancestry and her own fertility Europe into a new imperium. Further interpretation towards Catherine's role as an intermediator, her incarnation as a new French lily, and about her Marian purity was intended, as it reinforced the main imperial project.

This poly-semantic rainbow is colourfully depicted on the joists of the ceiling and the window-frame in her royal apartment at the castle of Écouen [see: Beguin / Delenda /Oursel 1995, fig. 12b, 12c and 19.].

In 1547 Anne de Montmorency, the owner of the building, was grateful to be asked back into courtly office by the new king, Henri II: this followed six years when he had been banished from the court in disgrace. The constable made an effort to include the royal devices into the avant-garde decoration of his renovated residence: Catherine's device was also on the coloured window and on the floor-tiles in the eastern entrance wing. Today both examples are preserved in the collection of the Musée National de la Renaissance (inv. Ec.2. [see: Capodieci 2011, fig. 24] and [see: Brejon de Lavergnée 1977, fig. 11, or: Crépin-Leblond 2014, p. 39.]).

In addition, the constable gave over the northern wing of his home to the royal family on more than a dozen occasions between 1547 and 1559, each stay allowing Henri II and Caterina thereby the splendid view over the expansive Parisis plain. When in July 1551 Anne Montmorency received the title of a dukedom, he honoured his king and queen by the erection of a permanent triumphal portico in which their emblems are embedded.

Besides the example of the portico, two other rainbows found their realisation on the so-called "table d'attente" on the northern façade of the royal castle wing [see: Hoffmann 1970, fig. 17 and 23].

All remaining examples in the castle of Écouen show just the end of the rainbow, appearing out of the clouds and touching the land-and-seascape, having raindrops and sunrays alongside with it. The two above mentioned rainbows of the Graphic Arts represent the optical phenomenon as an arch underneath clouds without any contact to the earth.

Beside changing the pictura, Caron and Ruscelli have shifted the meaning of the original rainbow-device, using also a slightly altered motto. After the death of her husband, Caterina had abandoned this device and, consequently, the rainbow-devices created after 1559 promoted her prudence instead. These two rainbow examples can, therefore, be regarded as an intermediate between Caterina's dowager-device, displaying a prudent serpent, and her former queen-device, celebrating fertility with a rainbow. Through the representation of the rainbow device on his castle, Anne de Montmorency praised the fruitfulness of the queen.

After Francis, Catherine de' Medici gave birth to eight more children. May the rainbow be for the Society for Emblem

Studies, which I would deeply like to thank for this wonderful forum, a path into a promising Golden Age of many interesting "Emblems of the Month".

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OTTO VAENIUS'S EMBLEM 'VIA NULLA EST INVIA AMORE'

Rubem Amaral Jr.

In these troubled times, when many countries struggle with extremism, intolerance, and violence, I think love is an appropriate subject for SES's Emblem of the Month. Through love emblems like this one, perhaps people and religions will find creative ways to reach across the wide ocean of their differences so that this basic virtue can unite humankind.

In issue number 30 of the SES Newsletter (January 2002), Simon McKeown writes an interesting research note about an emblematic lady's watch from the late seventeenth century (c. 1690) from the London workshop of Nicholas Massy the Younger. The watch is in the Timepieces Collection in the Ashmolean Museum's Department of Western Art (WA1947.191.98). Its case bears a tiny picture in a central roundel which the museum catalogue tentatively describes as "Cupid? on a raft at sea."

McKeown traces the image's origin to the emblem in Vaenius's Amorum Emblemata whose inscriptio reads "Via Nvlla est in Via Amore." McKeown describes the image as follows:

VIA NVLLA EST INVIA AMORI.
Quæ non tentet Amor perrumpere opaca viarum,
Qui infidi spernit cæca pericla maris?
Pro rate cui pharetra est, pro remo cui leuis arcus;
Vt portum obtineat, quidlibet audet Amor.

Love fyndeth meanes.
Behold how Cupid heer to crosse the sea doth prooue,
His quiver is his bote, his bow hee makes his ore,
His winges serue for his sayles, and so love euermore
Leaves nothing to bee donne to come unto his loue.

Ben sa trouar la strada.
Vedete il Dio d'Amor che solcar' osa
Il profondo Ocean sul suo turcasso,
l'Arco serue di remo, e non è lasso,
Per veder la sua Dea, tenta ogni cosa.

Liefde vindt middel.
Siet hoe Cupido vaert door baren/ en door stromen/
Sijn koker hem een schip/ sijn boogh een riem verstreckt/
Sijn slueyerken een seyl: als Liefd' een minnaer weckt
Gheen middel hem ontbreeckt om by sijn Lief te comen.

Amour trouue moyen.
Voycy le Dieu d'Amour, qui hardy passer ose
Les vagues de la mer, flottant sur son carquois,
d'Vne rame luy sert son petit arc Turquois.
l'Amant pour voir sa Dame entreprend toute chose.
(Otto Vaenius – Amorum emblemata (1608), Emblem 47)

> "The pictura shows Amor using his quiver as a raft and his bow as an oar to cross a stream, where, on a far bank, his beloved awaits him. Amor is helped in his crossing by wind that catches his cloak, turning it into a sail. The maker of the watchcase has effected some slight changes in appropriating the emblem for his design. The Amor on the watch grips his cloak with his left hand, unlike the Amor in the emblem who uses both his hands for rowing; the Amor on the watch also faces in the opposite direction to the figure in the emblem. This may be because the case-maker based his motif on the reversed image in Raphael Custos's adaptation of Vaenius's book, the *Emblemata Amoris Consecrata* (Augsburg, 1622)."

From this he deducts that "The strong amorous theme of the case, and the tiny proportions of the piece, make it likely that the watch was intended to be a love token between a suitor and his mistress."

McKeown adds:

> "The emblem of Amor crossing a stream on his quiver is, as has been noted by Henkel and Schöne [col. 490], and later Karel Porteman [15], a humorous reworking of an earlier emblematic tradition found in Gilles Corrozet (and later appearing in Camerarius, Rollenhagen, Wither, Visscher and elsewhere) that depicted a squirrel crossing a river on a raft of twigs of bark. Corrozet in turn derived his motif from a tradition recorded in the natural histories, such as the representative accounts by Gesner and

> Olaus Magnus, who noted that squirrels crossed rivers and streams by sitting on natural rafts, guiding themselves over by the use of their tails as sails. […] Corrozet had extrapolated the moral that just as a squirrel applies its small store of intelligence to solve the difficulty of crossing streams, so mankind should use his natural ingenuity to master hazards and hindrances. In Vaenius's appropriation of this emblem, he had wittily replaced the squirrel with Amor and fixed the objective of his voyage as his beloved waiting on the distant shore. The moral of the emblem now becomes that "loue euermore / Leaues nothing to bee donne to come vnto his loue." Vaenius's emblem therefore encourages the lover to show diligence, sedulity and invention in the pursuit of his mistress."

Notwithstanding Vaenius's possible debt to Corrozet, he probably found a ready-made graphic transposition of the squirrel's tradition in many more ancient images.

In fact, Santiago Sebastián López states in his book dedicated to the study of Dutch love emblems that he has found the graphic source of this particular emblem by Vaenius in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (d. 1527) (p. 90). Raimondi's engraving, with the motto "Sic fvga violenta monet," has the structure of an impresa or device. It is identified on the websites of The Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, The Ashmolean Museum, The Museum of Fine Arts of Budapest, and The Amica Library either as "Eros Escaping by Sea" or as "Eros escaping by sea, using his bow to propel a boat made from his quiver with an arrow as the mast and his blindfold as the sail." These websites say it is after an engraving made around 1515-27 by

Marco Dente da Ravenna (d. 1527) after a drawing by Raphael (d. 1520).

There is also a print by Agostino del Musi (known as Veneziano) called "Eros in the sea," dated 1520-36, where the same image appears in between Venus standing on a seashell and a seated man sleeping. The seated man might be Palinurus, the helmsman of Aeneas's ship, although the epigram below the image mentions Tiphys, the pilot of the Argo, and Jason. The epigram reads:

For Mario Praz, it is possible that Vaenius derived this

Cosi tal destreza Amor trapassa et arte
Del mar, ch'io spango il periglioso varco,
Del uelo fa le uele a l'aura sparte,
La barca è la faretra, Il remo è l'arco
Le corde del bell'arco son le sarte
L'arbore um stral di foco, et fele carco;
Cosi s'è fatto nel mio largo humore
Tiphi, et Jason senza maestro Amore.

emblem from Scève. Sebastián quotes Praz, who qualified Vaenius's emblem as:

"Alexandrian caprice which had greatly attracted the French poets, such as Scève (*Délie*, diz. 94):

… Sa trousse print, et un fuiste l'arma:
De ses deux traictz deligemment rama,
De l'arc fit l'arbre, et son bandeau tendit
Aux ventz pour voile…

Olivier de Magny (*Soupirs*, LIV):

I' avoy fait de mes pleurs un fleuve spatieux
……
Il feit de son carquois une barque subtille,
Un, mast feit de son arc à navrer tant habille,
Et une voile feit du bandeau de ses yeux.

De la corde de l'arc des cordaiges Il feit,
Ses traits d'or et de plomb pour avirons il meit,
Et de mille soupirs Il feit enfler sa voile:

Et voyant la Maitresse à l'heure sur le bord,
Il invoqua son aide, et parvint à bon port,
Ayant son oeil divin pour Phare et pour estoille"
(Praz, p. 112).

The theme was exploited not only in Italy and France, but also in Spanish Siglo de Oro poetry. My reflections in this note were prompted by an anonymous gloss in the Cartapacio de Pedro de Peganos, a manuscript cancionero from the late sixteenth and early the seventeenth centuries, recently edited by J.J. Labrador and R.A. DiFranco (n. 321, p. 259, repeated in n. 379, p. 281, with slight spelling variants), which reads:

[PIE]
Pero con más quedo io.

GLOSA
Biéndose Amor en estremo

i que cassi se anegaba,
hizo varco de la aljaba,
del belo vela, y un remo
de una flecha que tiraba.
Del arco, mástil y entena,
Cuerda, de la que quitó,
y a bela y remo salió
con arto trabajo y pena,
pero con más quedo yo.

This gloss is not exclusive to Penagos. It also appears in the Cancionero de Pedro de Rojas, edited by the same scholars (Labrador and DiFranco) and María T. Cacho (n. 178, p. 253), and in MS 22.852 of the National Library of Spain (p. 2).

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Fig. 1: Castelvetro, Lodovico, Ragione d'alcvne cose segnate nella canzone d'Annibal Caro Venite a l'ombra de gran Gigli d'oro, Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1560.

LODOVICO CASTELVETRO'S DEVICE: KEKPIKA, "I HAVE JUDGED"

Rubem Amaral Jr.

The snap election scheduled to be held in Greece this month after the resignation of Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras offers an appropriate occasion for the presentation of an emblem related to the democratic vote.

The chosen image is the device of Lodovico Castelvetro (Modena, c. 1505-Chiavenna, Switzerland, 1571), the influential Renaissance humanist, philologist, and literary critic famous for his vast learning and his various important works. He is especially known for his translation of Aristotle's Poetics into Italian. His interpretation of this particular work contributed to the development of Neoclassicism and the widespread adoption of a tight version of the Three Unities as a dramatic standard, which helped to set the critical norms for Renaissance and French Neoclassical drama.

The device depicts an owl perched on top of a toppled urn with the Greek inscriptio "KEKPIKA" (Tung, 1110). The image closely resembles the figure on the reverse of the Athenian "New Style" tetradrachm (on this, see Amaral, Jr., 388-390).

In his The Life and Works of Castelvetro, Lodovico Muratori explains why Castelvetro chose this picture:

> "And, about the above mentioned impresa I will say, by the way, that it originated from his own rivals who, for the sake of mockery, called him Gufo or Barbagianni, whereas, knowing well that the famous people of Athens never interpreted it as shameful but rather as honorable to adopt for their impresa the Owl, who keeps vigil and sees even at night, and as a symbol of Wisdom was for this reason consecrated to Minerva: Castelvetro also believed it was good to turn the otherwise offensive title of Gufo for his usage. Therefore he took it for his impresa, putting it over a vase with a large belly, which, reversed, showed to be void and contained nothing good, with the motto κέκρικα, i.e. I have judged, wishing to signify, so I think, that he, although being considered so vile by his adversary, had demonstrated that such an adversary was nothing more than a vase swollen by excessive self-esteem, empty of wisdom and judgment (Muratori, 70-71; my translation)."

In Italian, a gufo is a general name for an owl with long ears, and a barbagianni is a barn owl. The words also refer to a misanthrope and a silly person. Castelvetro himself, in the chapter "Viltà di Lodovico Castelvetro" of his Ragione, refers extensively to the nickname Gufo and why he would prefer to be called Civetta (a generic name for smaller owls with less negative connotations) instead (Castelvetro, 148v-150r).

However, in some versions of the device a few pebbles tumble out of the vase's mouth as if it were a voting urn pour-

ing out the stones thrown inside it by the voters, a system used in some types of elections in ancient Athens, the birthplace of democracy. In this case, I think the device may be also interpreted in a different sense that applies to events of the present day: the inscriptio "KEKPIKA" means that ballots have been counted and the vote decided for the issue submitted to the judgment of the citizens.

In fact, Scipione Bargagli, who describes the version with the pebbles but does not reproduce the image, sees it as a voting urn. After debating whether the bird is a civetta or a gufo, he explains that the urn:

> … in the Senate of Athens, served to collect the votes of each Senator; when they were ready to discern the votes collected, they turned it out to see if the party was defeated or not in a certain room where the image of the owl was placed above, the bird being attributed or dedicated to Minerva, patroness of that city, as if she were surveying the deliberations and the judgment that was made of men in the common councils of that most noble Republic. Therefore, if an impresa was made according to such feeling, I would say that perhaps there is a desire of properly representing that ancient special usage of the Athenian Senate. And that, due to this, its author could show his previously expressed feeling or his judgment regarding Caro's song, and give an answer right away to the latter's Apology issued against such expressed things, although reiterating the judgment in the guise of decision or firm deliberation that he had already pronounced about that song. Nevertheless, if the bird perched on that vase were not a civetta, by my knowledge I do not know where to properly base

such a Castelvetroesque understanding. Doubtlessly, I therefore believe that it is all devised as a demonstration of having definitely, through the study of things poetic, judged this Caroesque work defective. This same impresa was placed by its Author before the work made by him as giunta [attachment], as he calls it, to Bembo's Articuli [Articles] and Verba [Words]; to the one on the corrections to some things of Varchi's dialogue of languages; and, lastly, to his published exposition of Aristotle's Poetica; in all these places he shows to aim it equally at the same target: of having hit or expressed his determined judgment (Bargagli, 135-136); my translation).

Giovanni Ferro also comments on this device without presenting the image:

The Civetta or Gufo on a vase or pot of balls upturned in such a way that scattered balls, or broad beans, or lupine beans may be seen, half black and half white, with the motto Κέκρικα, i.e. Judicaui, I have judged, has been equated, although awkwardly, with the saying Decretvm est, which belonged to Castelvetro, alluding to what was done and is still done nowadays in judging with small balls; more appropriate would have been Ivdicivm signat, or similar, which would have been closer in form to the Impresa (Ferro, II, 139-140; my translation).

This device, in all of its various forms, was printed on the frontispiece of the following editions of Castelvetro's works:

POETICA
D'ARISTOTELE
VVLGARIZZATA,
ET SPOSTA
Per Lodouico Casteluetro.

KEKPIKA.

Stampata in Vienna d'Austria, per Gaspar Stainhofer, l'anno del Signore
M. D. LXX.

Aristotele, Poetica

Lodi Capucci non Monachi
112 B 5 dio

RAGIONE D'ALCVNE COSE SEGNATE
NELLA CANZONE D'ANNIBAL
CARO
VENITE ALL'OMBRA DE GRAN
GIGLI D'ORO.

KEKPIKA

POETICA
D'ARISTOTELE
VVLGARIZZATA,
ET SPOSTA
PER
LODOVICO CASTELVETRO.
Riueduta, & ammendata secondo l'originale,
& la mente dell'autore.
Aggiontoni nella fine vn racconto delle cose più notabili, che nella Posticine si contengono.

KEKPIKA.

Stampata in BASILEA ad instanza di PIETRO DE
SEDABONIS l'anno del signore
M. D. LXXVI.

SPOSIZIONE
DI
LODOVICO CASTELVETRO
A XXIX CANTI DELL'INFERNO DANTESCO
ORA PER LA PRIMA VOLTA DATA IN LUCE
DA
GIOVANNI FRANCIOSI.

IN MODENA
CON LE STAMPE DELLA SOCIETÀ TIPOGRAFICA
1886.

Poetica d'Aristotele vvlgarizzata et sposta (Vienna: Gaspar Stainhofer, 1570, and Basel: Pietro de Sedabonis, 1576); Ragioni d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone di messer Annibal Caro, Venite all'ombra de gran Gigli d'oro (Modena: Cornelio Gadaldino, 1559, Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1560, and Parma: Seth Viotti, 1573); Giunta fatta al Ragionamento degli articoli et de verbi di Messer Pietro Bembo (Modena: Heredi di Cornelio Gadaldino, 1562); Correttione d'alcune cose del Dialogo delle lingve di Benedetto Varchi, et vna giunta al primo libro delle Prose di M. Pietro Bembo, dove si raggiona della vulgar lingva (Basel, 1572); Le Rime del Petrarca breuemente sposte (Basel: Pietro Sedabonis, 1582, and Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1756); and Sposizione di Lodovico Castelvetro à XXIX canti dell'Inferno Dantesco ora per la prima volta data in luce da Giovanni Franciosi (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1886).

The author's name is not mentioned in the Ragione. According to Monica Bianco, the use of an impresa in place of a name in this book was advisable due to the fact that Castelvetro's life as a fugitive had already begun and would continue until his death. On December 20, 1556, he was sentenced to beheading and confiscation of his possessions for the murder of Alberico Longo, and in 1560 the Holy Office condemned him for heresy due to his involvement in Lutheranism (Bianco, note 3). Longo was a close friend of Annibale Caro. Longo's death is attributed to a long and fierce literary quarrel that started when Castelvetro harshly criticized Caro's poetic work Venite all'ombra de gran gigli d'oro, written in praise of the Farnese family and the royal house of France, that motivated a quarrel between Caro and Castelvetro. Many important intellectuals participated in this dispute, including Benedetto Varchi and Ludovico Muratori on opposite sides. Apologia degli Accademici di Ban-

chi di Roma (Parma: 1558) was produced in support of Caro, to which Castelvetro immediately answered with the Ragione.

The American bibliographer Thomas Randolph Adams (1921-2008), who was librarian of the John Carter Brown Library and John Hay Professor of Bibliography and University Bibliographer at Brown University, also adopted the pictura of Castelvetro's device for his personal ex libris.

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ΜΟΝΩ
ΤΩ ΘΕΩ
ΔΟΞΑ
I will never hide thee, nor forsake thee
Ararat
Moria
Per flatus per fluctus
Scylla
Floreant Protector
et Parliament Angliæ &c
Pro Deo lege et grege
Constantia Fortitudo
Lex Corona Columna
Salus Populi Suprema Lex
Magna Charta
Honos pro Bonis
Salvalit Insula Legibus Munita
Ex Charta Charitas
Fama
Anglia
Scotia
Mons Sion
Babilon
The EMBLEME of ENGLANDS Distractions As also of her attained, and further expected Freedome, & Happines Per H. M. 1655.
They shall beat their Speares into Pruneing-hooks
And their Sword's into Plowe-shares

OLIVER CROMWELL BETWEEN TWO PILLARS

Valérie Hayaert

The exhibition held now at the British Library « Magna Carta: Law, Liberty, Legacy » offers an understanding of both the significant legacy of Magna Carta and how it influences later developments in British history and beyond. During the 17th century, Magna Carta was not only used as a legal document but also as a symbol against tyranny. As shown in several examples of sketches of regimental banners used during English Civil Wars, parliamentary flags sometimes include in their design a scroll bearing the inscription « Magna Carta », meant to embody the protection of the rights of the subject against royal oppression. A scroll, bearing the inscription « Magna Charta » appears as a symbol in one of the most impressive examples of emblematic print of the time : a large-scale political engraving, which was sold as a broadsheet (56 x 42 cm) entitled : The Embleme of Englands Distractions as also her attained, and further expected Freedome, & Happines Per H.M. 1658. This symbol is part of a wider programme, composed of more than forty visual and verbal components : scrolls, banners, ribbons, crowns, monuments and symbolic scenes. The symbolic montage is an assemblage of different spare parts and the print

shows a tension between two polarities : the unity of the whole and the discontinuity of each of its components. Reading this piece involves the viewer's eye and wit as he needs to give sense to the overall logic of the portrait : each detachable symbolic part shows one of the several facets of the Lord Protector. The way in which the architectural setting of the print highlights the glorious acts of the hero should first be described, as it offers an itinerary to enter the symbolic space of the engraving.

Cromwell in glory is represented standing between two Tuscan columns, trampling with one foot between the bare breasts of the prostrate Whore of Babylon, represented as a multi-headed dragon labelled Error and Faction. He thus stands in armour as a new Hercules or as a new victorious saint over the dragon. The upper part of the sheet is devoted to the divine. Over his head, is a dove with olive-branch in its beak : the dove comes down from a beaming sun, containing the Greek motto : Mono to theo doxa (Honor to God alone). The sun and dove are circled by two ribbons in horseshoe form and these two phylacters bear two biblical verses that can be understood as a dialogue between Cromwell and God : from the top of his sword, near the uppermost crown, the legend reads « I will never faile thee, nor forsake thee », the godly answer, written on the same scroll, is continued on the right : « Bee still and know that I am God » and the end of the second scroll is entering the porch of a church which stands on the abacus of the left pillar, with the motto « Floreant Protector ex Parliamentum Angliae etc. » (« etc. » standing for Scotiae et Hibernae). On the top of the left pillar, a two faces monument shows, united, a chapel (symbol of the Parliament House) and a castellated building, which is a stylized version of Cromwell's own castellated house in Whitehall. As Karl Josef Höltgen has noticed, the

close vicinity of these two recognizable buildings on the top of the left column is meant to signify the strong alliance between the Parliament and the Protector.

Three different sections are distinct in this elaborate composition : the upper register, deals with the intervention of the divine and its representation : from the radiant sun in the middle to the faced sun that stares down onto Noah's ark washed up on the top ot Mount Ararat on the left side and to the blowing wind whirling down to another depiction of Noah's ark, tempest-tossed, on the right side, between Charybdis and Scylla. Noah's ark is a long-standing traditional depiction of the ships of state and church. It represents the community of the saved and redeemed. The ship appears early as a metaphor for the protective character of religious belief in the Old Testament's story of Noah's ark. The Ark landed on the mountains of Ararat Here, the Lord Protector, himself under the protection of God, represents the warrant of the safe haven of Christianity, a vessel that God chaperoned through great dangers. The mixture of heathen mythology (the sea monsters Charybdis and Scylla are taken from Homer's Odyssey) and biblical story was common then in early modern maps.

Next to the cipher of Oliver Cromwell -the initials of his name being adorned by two icons of the sun (O) and the moon (C)- inscribed into a laurel's wreath, the scene of Abraham sacrifice of his son Isaac has been associated with the toponym Moria.

The middle register is saturated with flags and banners : their deployment is meant to celebrate the Lord Protector installation and the glorious actions associated with his reign. Between the two pillars, Oliver Cromwell is himself the pillar of the State : he upholds in his right hand a sword adorned

with three crowns. The triple crowned sword refers to the three panels of the right pillar, where three crowned human figures kneeling offer with both hands a civic wreath to Cromwell. England, Scotland and Ireland pay hommage to their protector, while the flags of St George, St Andrew and the Irish flag, with harp of Ireland, are displayed from the sides of the panels. The three heraldic shields of the right pillar, the one surmounted with a stylised representation of the Parliament house and Cromwell's own castellated mansion express a clear message : Cromwell is the saviour and protector of the three British monarchies now united under his sceptre.

The left pillar is more inventive as it commemorates the thanksgiving to the sovereign ruler of the three kingdoms by showing the symbols of his legacy. The left pillar is surmounted with a civic wreath, within which are the sun resplendent and crescent : it shows the four main achievements of the Protector. On the right side of Cromwell, stands a winged allegory of Fame (a Roman Victory) which serves as a herald blowing into a flag trumpet holding the standard flag of the Lord Protector from 1655 to 1659, in which the cross of St George was quartered with the cross of St Andrew, the Irish Harp and the red cross. Four scrolls reinvent the cardinal virtues and the basic principles of the Republic : the first reads « Constantia, Fortitudo ». The side banner departing from this first scroll is filled with the personal coat of arms borne by Oliver Cromwell.

The names of these two virtues (Constance and Courage) were also written on the two columns of the device of the Emperor Charles V of Spain, one of the two columns being surmounted by an imperial wreath and the other column, by the royal wreath, with the motto Plus ultra Carolum Carolus (Charles will go further than Charles). The second scroll is as

elliptic as the first, it reads three words« Lex Corona Columna » and this juxtaposition of terms is not easily understandable. If we link the scroll to the banner standing next to it (whic read « Honos pro bonis ») it could be understood as a hint to a Pythagorean symbol, « Coronam ne carpito » (« Do not snipe at the crown ») and would then refer to the own decision of the Protector who refused to be crowned as a king, the text of the symbol explains :

> Divine Jerome thinks that this means that the laws of cities must be observed, not violated nor criticized. After all, good law is the city's crown, by which it is better ruled than by a good king. [1]

On the third scroll, the classical motto is easier to interpret : « Salus populi suprema lex (esto) » (the welfare of the people shall be the supreme law, Cicero, De legibus III, 3, 8). The Ciceronian maxim became a much quoted doctrine by Cromwell as it was often used in his Remonstrances to provide moral authority fot the attack of the Army on the King : the maxim claimed that ultimate sovereignty lay with the people, there being merely a contract between ruler and ruled, which, if broken (as Charles Ist had done) entitled them to revolt. Salus populi suprema lex was also engraved, as his own motto, on the banners floating over his funeral monument : it was an explicit anti-royalist maxim, a classical embodiment of Parliamentarian resistance theory, which was to replace the former principle of royal authority and sovereignty. The banner associated to this maxim reads « Salva sit Insula Legibus Munita » (May this island be saved by the protection of laws). The side banner always heralds a wish for the fate of the British State, whereas

the scroll shows the letter of a firm principle, strongly defended by the Lord Protector. At the very bottom of the column, next to its base grounded in Mons Sion, the last scroll displays the words « Magna Charta ». During the 17th century, it was used by the opponents of King Charles I to regulate the arbitrary use of royal authority. The lawyer Edward Coke declared that « Magna Carta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign ». In the print, it is litterally depicted as a the cornerstone of English liberties, as an ancient defence against arbitrary and tyrannical rulers. The side banner reads « Ex Charta Charitas » as the Latin noun caritas « dearness, love » though a false but widely entertained etymology was supposed to derive from the Greek « charis » (charm) and hence mispelled « charitas ».

In his left hand, he holds an open volume bearing the legend « Tollo, perlego, protego ». (I support, read over and protect). The other motto, next to Cromwell's sword, is a significant variation upon the classical « Pro Rege, Lege et Grege », (« For the King, Law and People », i.e. for ruler, rule and ruled) : his motto makes the King reference disappear.

The celebration of Sir Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector dates back to 1658. In the 1660s, he will later be subject to a particularly fierce denunciation of his regicide and vilified as a wicked murderer and godless usurpator. In 1658, the great man had reached the peak of power and prestige, after his refusal of the kinship ans his second installation as Lord Protector on 26 June 1657. The emblematic portrait refers to this particular moment and, as Karl Josef Höltgen has demonstrated [2], if « its political message has been overlooked or misunderstood », it is a « deliberate and very elaborate piece of visual-verbal propaganda for the Lord Protector » and the emblematical composition « makes a statement of regal or imperial claims ».

Cromwellian iconography dwells on royal or imperial iconography, and the main architectural setting of the print, underlined by the unofficial name of the print « Cromwell Between Two Pillars » recalls the imperial device showing the two pillars of Hercules with the motto « Non plus ultra » (Not any further). Cromwell, new English Hercules, had to deploy terror against the many-headed hydra and the person of the Lord Protector was often likened to Hercules or as a « parliamentary Hercules ».

The bottom register offers a vivid landscape of nine emblematic scenes scattered around both rocks surmounted by the two pillars. The overall composition sets out a contrast between the edenic Mount Sion, where the people lives happily under the protection of Cromwell and the right pillar, left to the threat of enemies, traitors and plotters. Behind the standing protector, an army is displayed in marching order, ready for battle with the motto « Vis unita fortior » (United strength is stronger).

Start with the « peace » pillar. At the bottom, the rock is labelled « Mount Sion », as this place was used by many Old Testament prophets as a symbolic term to coin a place of peace and righteousness. Mount Sion stands as a shelter for virtuous actions and peaceful achievements : below, a shepherd rests beneath an olive tree : the motto Oliva Pacis refers to a poetic volume presented to Oliver Cromwell in 1654 bearing the same title [3]. The eulogistic book was written to congratulate the Protector in undertaking the charge of the State and concluding peace with the Dutch. The contributors all belonged to a circle of poets of the University of Cambridge. The two verses subscriptio, beneath the title of the print, repeat the pun on the Protector's name « Pacis Oliva, sibi vere Olivarius erit ». Crom-

well is celebrated as a peacemaker and he is thought to bear in his own name this particular power.

Two other peaceful scenes, engraved on both sides of the title of the print, are related as they depict two verses of Isaiah 2:4 : « They shall beat their speares into Pruning hooks » and « And their Swords into Ploughshares ». The biblical quote is cut into two halves and illustrates well the wish of freedom and happiness expressed by the central title. The global meaning of these two scenes is made explicit by the full reading of the biblical verse : « nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore ». Iniquity has to be defeated and it is the Lord Protector who is said to oversee this process of restoring a destructive past.

Alciato's emblem « Ex Bello Pax », (From war comes Peace) where bees make their hive into the old helmet of war, gives a symbolic form to the same idea (bottom left corner). If we consider the defiant motto chosen by Oliver Cromwell, « Pax quaeritur in bello » (peace in sought in war), this quotation from the prophet Isaïah seems to embody an irenic ideal, cultivated by such a veteran in arms, consummately practiced in the exigencies of war.

By contrast, the rock of the right pillar is parted in two sections : on the left, three men are cutting with scissors the trees of an orchard whereas on the right side, a cave opens up on barrels and faggots ready to be ignited by a man using a pair of bellows (with the motto « uror dum alii non uruntur » (I burn whilst the other won't burn) and four traitors (« proditores » says the motto) are actively destroying the foundations of the state with pick-axes. Karl-Josef Höltgen has noted the topical context of these details : several explicit allusions are made here, to the Levellers and to the most dangerous enemies of the

Protector, namely Sindercombe, and his plot to blow Cromwell to bits which failed. The evilness of these would-be-assassins are made all the more visible as two of them are dog-headed and fox-headed, with the motto « Latrant latrones » (Brigands bark).

During the ceremony of his second installment as Lord Protector (26 June 1657), the Speaker of the Parliament (Sir Thomas Widdrington) addressed himself to Cromwell in a solemn speech and one of the objects given to him was a sword « not a Military but a Civil Sword ; a Sword rather for a Defence than an Offence (…) an Emblem of Justice ». The Speaker added : « If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, it should be this : Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum populum meum [4] » (I am the Protector, to protect my people). The inventor of this elaborate print creates a well articulated symbolism which adds a verbal-visual programme to the celebration of the Lord Protector's inauguration. There was a fine medal struck on this occasion, engraved by Simmonds, which had on one side the bust of Oliver and round it an olive-tree flourishing, in a field, with the motto « Non deficient Olivae », dates 3 September 1658. The large sheet print enables the emblematic portrait to associate many more facets of the heroic protector : shields, banners and scrolls concur to celebrate Cromwell, at the height of his grandeur and power, but at the same time, the right pillar shows the misfortunes and conspiracies threatening this irenic ideal. Emblematic allusions are often topical and challenging. The motto written underneath the scene depicting the sacrifice of Abraham, « Moria » has for instance led some interpreters to seek far-fetched allusions :

> Somewhat more puzzling, however, – even sinister – is the third scene, the Sacrifice of Isaac, with Jacob his sword poised about to decapitate the boy – surely this cannot allude to the beheading of Charles I some nine years earlier? The summit on which the terrible deed is about to be done is labelled Moria – unless this Greek name (famously and punningly used by Sir Thomas More in his Encomium Moriae or Praise of Folly) was instead intended not as a place-name, but as an allusion to the folly of such an act? [5]

« Moria » (in terram Moriae) is nothing else but the name of the mountain where Abraham was about to sacrifice his son (Gen. 22 :12). According to St John Chrysostome, Saint Jerome and the Church Fathers, the toponym « Moriah » means « acute vision » and that is the reason why it has been sometimes translated by « terram lucidam ».

NOTES

[1] Christopher S. Celenza, Piety and Pythagoras in Renaissance Florence : The Symbolum Nesianum, Brill, 2001, p. 109, n° 12.
[2] Karl Josef Höltgen, « Early Modern English Emblematic title-pages and their cultural context » in Entree aus Schrift und Bild, Verlag, Berlin, 2008, pp. 40- 79.
[3] Oliva Pacis ad illustrissimum celsissimumque Oliverum reipublicae Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae Dominum Protectorem ; De Pace cum Foederatis Belgis feliciter sancita, Carmen Cantabrigiense, 1654.
[4] Quoted in The Life of Oliver Cromwel, Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, London, Midwinter, 1743, p. 68.
[5] http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/research/printOfTheMonth/august2006.html

ELOGIA MARIANA BY A. C. REDELIUS: WHAT IS THE STORY BEHIND THIS BOOK?[1]

Carme López Calderón

I became interested in A. C. Redelius' Elogia Mariana (1732) seven years ago, when a professor on my faculty suggested the iconographic analysis of its engravings as a possible topic for a project.[2] At that time, I had no idea what the Lauretan Litany was and much less the impact that this particular prayer to the Virgin Mary has exerted on so many cycles, such as the choir stalls of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico,[3] the tiles (azulejos) of the Church of the Convent of Jesus in Setúbal, Portugal,[4] or the series of canvases in both the Cuzco Cathedral in Peru and the Convent of Saint Francis in Salvador de Bahía, Brazil.[5] For most of these examples the correspondence between each print and its applied outcome can be easily found on the site of the Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art (PESSCA).

Since my original project turned out to be unworkable (reading microfilmed newspapers in a broken microfilm reader printer proved not to be viable), I accepted my professor's challenge to decipher the meaning of Redelius' emblematic im-

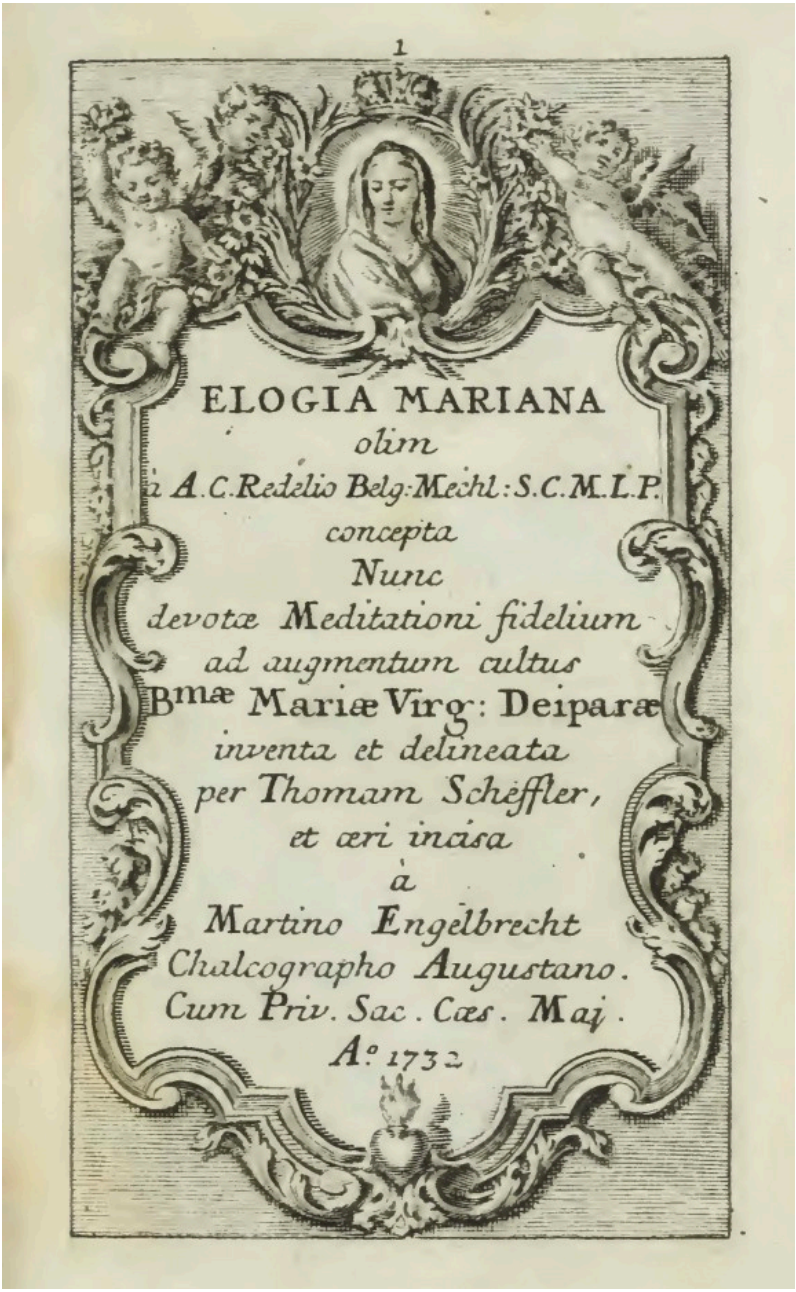

Fig. 1: Redelius. *Elogia Mariana* (1732). Frontispiece.

ages. I did my best, but I now know how far I was then from a suitable interpretation. In my defense, I must say that at the time I lacked the appropriate key to approach these compositions: the book in which they first appeared and in which they were accompanied by a – frequently tricky – explanatory text. Let's explore this Rosetta Stone and how important it is to making sense of Redelius' emblematic images.

On the origin of the images

Redelius' Elogia Mariana was published posthumously in 1732. Redelius died in 1705. This fact explains the clarification made on the title page:

> "Olim A. C. Redelio […] concepta Nunc […] inventa et delineata per Thomam Scheffler et aeri incisa à Martino Engelbrecht"
>
> [Once conceived by A.C. Redelius […] now invented and drafted by Thomas Scheffler and engraved in copper by Martin Engelbrecht.]

So, when did this "olim" happen? When did Redelius conceive his Elogia?

A couple of scholars note that very similar prints were gathered in a previous Elogia Mariana,[6] issued in Augsburg in 1700 and signed by Isaac Oxoviensi (or Isaac von Ochsenfurth).[7] The text's full title casts doubt on this being the origin of Redelius' book, however, as it refers to an even earlier work:

CHRISTE EXAVDI NOS.
Bella regente Deo, facilis victoria: qui te,
Virgo, colit, pugnat bella regente Deo.
6

CHRISTE
NOS CHRISTE EXA
Lauris, & palm
Contra Hostes Ma
Impia de terri

Fig. 2: "Christe exaudi nos," in P. Stoergler, Asma Poeticum (Linz: Joannis Paltauff, 1636), 6. © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. || Fig. 3: "Christe exaudi nos," in I. Oxoviensi, Elogia Mariana (Augsburg: Antonii Nepperschmidii, 1700), 29. © Herzog August Bibliothek http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-2952/start.htm?image=00046. || Fig. 4: "Christe exaudi nos," in A. C. Redelius, Elogia Mariana (Augsburg: s.n., 1732), 7. © Getty Research Institute https://archive.org/stream/elogiamarianaoli00enge#page/n16/mode/1up.

> "Elogia Mariana […] Auctore P.F. Isaaco Oxoviensi, cum variis figuris aereis, iam olim ingeniose inventis, nunc denuo cum additione novorum Versuum excusis, & ad singula Elogia concinne accommodatis"
>
> [Elogia Mariana […] Author P. F. Isaac Oxoviensi, with various copper figures, once ingeniously invented, composed anew with the addition of new verses and neatly adjusted to each of the Elogia.]

In effect, these images had already been used in a book published twenty years prior to Redelius' birth: Asma Poeticum litaniarum lauretanarum in 1636, promoted by the Sodalitas Mariana in Linz. Examples of the similar engravings in these three texts can be seen in Figs. 2-4.

The 1636 work is mentioned in the entry "emblem" of the Marienlexikon as the first example of a Lauretan Litany illustrated with emblems. Despite establishing a connection with the 1700 Elogia Mariana, the Marienlexikon omits any reference to Redelius' name.[8] It also omits the authorship of the Asma Poeticum, while the Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu had already attributed it to Petrus Sterglerus or Peter Stoergler.[9] As for the inventor or engraver of these plates, nothing is mentioned, and I have not been able to find any conclusive evidence yet.

Regardless of who the author of the 1636 text is, these emblematic prints undoubtedly had an influence on the two subsequent Elogia Mariana. The works even turn the original title page with the Annunciation (Fig. 5) into their frontispiece (Figs. 6-7). The only difference is that the frontispieces add a depiction of the Holy House with the titles of the litany beneath the Annunciation scene.

In the 1700 edition, the base of the Holy House displays Redelius' name, but this disappears in the equivalent 1732 print. This signature led Martha Reta to propose Redelius as the frontispiece's author, which is not without reason, since he is known to be responsible for another print of the "Vera Effigie" of the Virgin of Loreto.[10] As for me, I believe that all of the images from the 1700 edition (and not just the frontispiece) might have been at some point elaborated on by Redelius, for they were redrawn after the 1636 prints (both series come from different plates). Furthermore, the German version that immediately follows (also written by I. Oxoviensi) shows in this very same place the signature "Io. Sallver fe.," this time reiterated at the bottom of twenty-two more engravings.[11]

On the origin of the anagrams and epigrams

The 1700 edition (Figs. 3 and 9) features an anagram beneath every illustration and an epigram consisting of two distiches, both engraved in the same copperplate as the image. The anagram is a short phrase rearranging the letters of each invocation. The 1732 edition (Figs. 4 and 10) uses the identical text. The only difference between the two Elogia Mariana is the "accompanying material." The sacra poemata rythmica and annotations were written by Oxoviensi and are placed immediately after every print only in the 1700 version.

At first sight, the 1636 Asma poeticum (Figs. 2 and 8) appears to have some noticeable differences. The book includes no anagrams, the epigrams are restricted to one distich, and after every print there is a carmen, an oraculum, and a suspirium. Closer inspection of these distiches reveals, though, that they were actually the inspiration for some of the later

ANIMA POETICVM
LITERARIO LAVRETANORVM

AD EAM
DIXIT
AVE GRATIA
PLENA.
ELOGIA

Fig. 5: Title page of P. Stoergler, Asma Poeticum (Linz: Joannis Paltauff, 1636). © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. || Fig. 6: Frontispiece of I. Oxoviensi, Elogia Mariana (Augsburg: Antonii Nepperschmidii, 1700). © HAB http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-2952/start.htm?image=00005. || Fig. 7: Frontispiece of A. C. Redelius, Elogia Mariana (Augsburg: s.n., 1732). © Getty Research Institute https://archive.org/stream/elogiamarianaoli00enge#page/n6/mode/1up

TVRRIS EBVRNEA &c P. N.

Aspice, si nescis, quid Turris eburnea, posit;
Hac tibi Tartareus vincitur arte Draco.

TURRIS EBURNEA

Aspice si nescis qu
hac tibi tartar
Hinc NE TURBERI
huc RUE in am

Fig. 8: "Turris Eburnea" in P. Stoergler, Asma Poeticum (Linz: Joannis Paltauff, 1636), 38. © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. || Fig. 9: "Turris Eburnea" in I. Oxoviensi, Elogia Mariana (Augsburg: Antonii Nepperschmidii, 1700), 263. © Herzog August Bibliothek. http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-2952/start.htm?image=00408. || Fig. 10: "Turris Eburnea" in A. C. Redelius, Elogia Mariana (Augsburg: s.n., 1732), 39. © Getty Research Institute https://archive.org/stream/elogiamarianaoli00enge#page/n80/mode/1up.

epigrams, and in fact a few of them were literally transferred. This is the case with the plate entitled "Turris eburnea." To the 1636 distich "Aspice, si nescis, quid Turris eburnea, possit / Hac tibi Tartareus vincitur arte Draco," the 1700 and 1732 editions add two more lines: "Hinc ne turberis peccator corde dolendo / Huc rue in amplexus Virginis esto latens" (Figs. 8-10).

So, where do the Elogia's anagrams come from? A significant part of them is found in two unillustrated Lauretan Litanies published by Redelius himself in 1690: Thronus gratiae Marianus and Fonticulus Marianus, two identical works only differentiated by the title and the dedication.[12] Both books display the vera effigie of the Virgin of Loreto, followed by the titles of the litany accompanied by an anagram and an epigram. In the 1700 edition, I. Oxoviensi quotes Redelius' Thronus gratiae up to sixteen times. The plate entitled "Turris Davidica" exemplifies this: while the anagram states "VI TRUCIDAS DIRA," the corresponding annotation notes: "Turris Davidica per Anagramma sonat: Vi Trucidas Dira. Redelius in throno grat."[13]

A hypothesis on the history behind Elogia Mariana

Keeping in mind these origins and that Oxoviensi must have known this series of images when writing his verses and comments (for his poemata and annotationes sometimes include explicit references to their iconography), one may ask: If the engravings that he had under his nose were the ones used to illustrate his 1700 Elogia, then why did he quote Redelius' Thronus gratiae instead of referring to his own prints? It makes no sense. The only reasonable explanation that I find is that he might not have had these specific images with him at that

moment. This may simply be because they might have not been created yet. Besides, in my opinion, it is also meaningful that the prints from the 1700 Elogia were numbered according to this edition (and thus the number matches the page – see Figs. 3 and 9) and not as independent sheets, unlike the Asma poeticum (Figs. 2 and 8) and the 1732 Elogia (Figs. 4 and 10).

Thus my hypothesis is that the engravings that I attribute to Redelius – both the images themselves and their texts, the anagrams and the epigrams – did not precede Oxoviensi's poemata and annotationes, but the other way around. They were their consequence. This explanation would suit the above-mentioned frontispiece's note:

> "Elogia Mariana […] Author P. F. Isaac Oxoviensi, with various copper figures, once upon a time ingeniously invented, composed anew with the addition of new verses and neatly adjusted to each of the Elogia."

In other words, Oxoviensi might have known both Stoergler's Asma poeticum and Redelius' Thronus gratiae and thus he might have composed his praises to Mary (poemata and annotationes) taking these images and verses as his starting point. When the time came to publish the Elogia in 1700, the 1636 illustrations were composed anew, a duty that, in my opinion, might have devolved upon Redelius. He might have redrawn them and added the new verses, which partially originated from Stoergler's distiches and partially from in his own anagrams published ten years before. Therefore, when the Elogia Mariana was reissued in 1732, including only the engravings (images, anagrams, and epigrams), it was fairly stated "once conceived by A. C. Redelius."

Reconstructing the stories behind the *Elogia Mariana*

Being aware of the 1732 Elogia Mariana's sources certainly helps to unveil the meaning behind its images, since Stoergler's carmina and to a lesser extent Oxoviensi's poemata and annotationes provide the key to identifying many of the engraved subjects, and, by extension, many of the applied subjects as these prints were transferred to other media.

Let's exemplify this through one of the Setubal's azulejo panels: "Christe exaudi nos" (Fig. 11), which mimetically duplicates the homonymous 1732 illustration (Fig. 4). The scene depicts a procession led by an emperor holding a Crucifix with an icon of the Virgin riding in a chariot immediately behind him.

As the inscription points out, this image proclaims the power of the Mother of God "contra hostes" ["against enemies"]. Indeed, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries she was believed by Catholics to be responsible for their victories in many battles, such as the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and the Battle of White Mountain (1620).

Without Stoergler's clue, however, it would be extremely difficult to recognize the specific subject represented here:

> *"Cerne triumphali vehitur nova pompa quadriga,*
> *Comnen9 Scythico, quam vehit orbe redux.*
> *Auro temo micat, gemmis seges aurea currũ,*
> *Argenti radios, candidus ambit onyx.*
> *Hoc Bizantinam Virgo defertur in urbem,*
> *Virgo cuius, humi concidit hostis, ope.*
> *Ipse pedes Victor, manibus gerit alma salutis,*
> *Ante triumphales, signa, crucemque, rotas."*

Fig. 11: “Christe exaudi nos,” Church of the Convent of Jesus in Setúbal (present Santa Casa da Misericórdia), c. 1780.

[Look, Comnenus goes with the triumphal chariot in the new procession that returns from the Scythic region. The tongue of the chariot glitters due to the gold, the grain field gleaming like gold because of the precious stones circles the chariot; the pure onyx embraces the spokes of silver. The Virgin is taken by him to this Byzantine city; Virgin with whose power the enemy falls down on the ground. He himself carries victorious in his hands, on foot in front of the triumphal wheels, the cross of salvation and nourishing signs.]

The Comnenian dynasty ruled the Byzantine Empire from 1081 until 1185. Thanks to the annals written by Kinnamos and Choniates and an ekphrasis by Theodore Prodromos, it is known that the emperor John II Comnenus decided to commemorate the success in capturing Castamon with a triumphal procession in Constantinople that marched towards Hagia Sophia. The most prominent element of the parade was supposed to be the silver-plated chariot that he ordered constructed, adorned with gold and semi-precious jewels, and pulled by four white horses. In the end, though, the attitude of John II became the most remarkable issue: the emperor did not mount the chariot, for he preferred to go on foot ahead of it, holding a cross in his hands and yielding his place to an icon of the Mother of God in such a way that he presented her as the source of his victories.[14]

Hence this theme really proved suitable for an engraving whose goal was to extol the power of the Virgin Mary against the enemy. Actually this modern reinterpretation of the procession promoted by John II Comnenus was not initiated by Stoergler. It is already found in earlier texts of the period, where

this parade was used as an example of a Christian Triumph and even of "a Catholic way" of doing things:

> "Y combatió en la Persarmenia la ciudad de Castamon, de la qual hizo huyr al Sátrapa Persiano, y captivó en ella gran número de gente con que tornó triumphando a Constantinopla en carro de quatro blanquíssimos cavallos. Mas quiero advertir de la manera deste triumpho por aver sido catholicíssima y devotíssima, que se entapiçaron las rúas y plaças de Constantinopla, de riquíssimos paños de oro y seda […] Colocó el emperador en el carro de los quatro cavallos blancos, labrado de plata y con piedras preciosas la imagen de la Virgen sancta María madre de Dios, a la qual tenía por compañera en el imperio y a la qual aplicava todas sus victorias […] y él fue delante del carro a pie con una cruz en la mano y desta manera entró la procesión en la famosíssima iglesia de Sancta Sophia…"[15][And he fought in the Persarmenia for the city of Castamon, from which he made the Persian Satrap flee and in which he captured many people, returning triumphant to Constantinople with them in a chariot pulled by four white horses. But I want to draw the attention to this triumph for being very catholic and very devout: the streets and squares of Constantinople were covered with rich golden and silky fabrics […] The emperor placed in the chariot of the four white horses, worked in silver and with precious stones, the image of the Holy Virgin Saint Mary Mother of God, whom he considered his mate in the empire and to whom he attributed all his victories […] and he went ahead of the chariot on foot with a cross in his hand and in this way the procession entered the very famous Hagia Sophia Church…]

Ad lectorem

It is needless to say that when analyzing this print back in 2008, I did not mention John II Comnenus at all. But luckily this was also the examining board's oversight when grading my project. So my question is now: Were the masterminds of the cycles based on the 1732 Elogia Mariana engravings aware of their original meaning? Or were they as limited as I was seven years ago, choosing to echo these images instead of, for example, the ones in François-Xavier Dornn's bestseller Litaniae Lauretanae only due to aesthetic reasons?

NOTES

[1] I expounded most of the following ideas for the first time in a lecture entitled "Quién es quién en la Elogia Mariana de A. C. Redelio," presented in the I Simposio Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadores del Barroco Iberoamericano (Santiago de Compostela, 27-29 May 2013) and then published under the same title in C. López Calderón, Mª. A. Fernández Valle, and Mª. I. Rodríguez Moya (coords.), Barroco Iberoamericano. Identidades culturales de un Imperio (Santiago de Compostela: Andavira Editora, 2013) 51-63.

[2] A. C. Redelius, Elogia Mariana Olim A. C. Redelio Belg: Mechl: S.C.M.L.P concepta Nunc devotae Meditationi fidelium ad augmentum cultus Bmae Mariae Virg: Deiparae inventa et delineata per Thomam Scheffler et aeri incisa à Martino Engelbrecht Chalcographo Augustano Cum Priv. Sac. Caes. Maj. (Augsburg: s.n., 1732). <https://archive.org/details/elogiamarianaoli00enge>

[3] M. Reta, "Elogia Mariana. Imágenes visuales y poéticas en loor de la Virgen," in N. Sigaut (ed.), Guadalupe arte y liturgia. La sillería de coro de la colegiata. Vol. 2 (Zamora, Michoacán: El Colegio de Michoacán, Museo de la Basílica de Guadalupe-Insigne y Nacional Basílica de Santa María de Guadalupe, 2006) 359-379.

[4] J. A. Falcão, "Azulejeria setecentista do Real Convento de Jesus de Setúbal. Alguns aspectos históricos e iconográficos," in Relaciones artísticas entre la Península Ibérica y América: Actas del V Simposio Hispano-Portugués de Historia del Arte (Valladolid: Universidad, 1990) 103-109.

[5] J. de Mesa and T. Gisbert, Historia de la pintura Cuzqueña. Vol. 1 (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, Banco Wiese Ltdo, 1982) 210-211; R. Amaral, Jr., "Emblemática mariana no convento de São Francisco de Salvador, Bahía e seus modelos europeus," in R. García Mahiques and V. F. Zuriaga Senent (eds.), Imagen y cultura. La interpretación de las imágenes como Historia Cultural (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2008) 203-216.

Link.
[6] J. M. Monterroso Montero, "Emblemática e iconografía mariana. Imágenes emblemáticas de la Litaniae Lauretanae de Francisco Xavier Dornn," in S. López Poza (dir.), Florilegio de estudios de emblemática (Santiago de Compostela: Sociedad de Cultura Valle- Inclán, 2004) 543; Reta, "Elogia Mariana," 363.
[7] I. Oxoviensi, Elogia Mariana Ex Lytaniis Lauretanis Deprompta, Ac Sacro Poemate Rythmico, Biblicis Sententiis, ac Figuris, solidis sanctorum Patrum effatis, ac variis probatorum Auctorum Discursibus. Quae omnia In Annotationibus post quaelibet Poemata apponuntur ad longum, luculenter explanata. Opus non solum fovendae devotioni erga Beatissimam Virginem per opportunum, sed etiam Panegyricis de Eadem sermonibus efformandis accommodatissimum/ Auctore P.F. Isaaco Oxoviensi, Capucino Concionatore, Cum variis figuris aereis, iam olim ingeniose inventis, nunc denuo cum additione novorum Versuum excusis, & ad singula Elogia concinne accommodatis (Augustae Vindelicorum: Apud Joann. Philippum Steudnerum, Typis Antonii Nepperschmidii, 1700), http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/xb-2952/start.htm.
[8] "Eine weitere Eingrenzung der Maria emblematik findet sich in den emblematischen Illustrationen zur Lauretanischen Litanei. Das früheste Werk dieses Themenkreises, das Asma poeticum, Linz 1636, wurde von Mitgliedern der mariano Kongregation in Linz zusammengestellt. Maria ist hier durchweg im Bild dargestellt: durch beigeordnete Szenen und eingeschriebene inscriptiones werden die einzelnen Anrufungen auf ihre tiefere Bedeutung hin ausgelegt. Der Kapuziner Isaac v. Ochsenfurth verhalf dieser wenig verbreiteten Schrift in seinen Elogia Mariana Augsburg 1700, zu größerer Publizität, die vor allem von Augsburger Stechern (Martin Engelbrecht; G. B. Götz, Insignia Mariano-encomiastica, Augsburg 1737; Gebr. Klauber in Franz Xaver Dornn, Litaniae Lauretanae, Augsburg 1771) aufgegriffen wurde" (C. Kemp, "Emblem," in R. Bäumer and L. Scheffczyk (eds.), Marienlexikon, Vol. 2 (EOS-Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1989), 333).
[9] Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu. Post excusum Anno MDCVIII Catalogum R. P. Petri Ribadeneirae Societatis eiusdem theologi; nunc hoc novo apparatu librorum ad annum reparatae salutis MDCXLII editorum concinnata, & illustrium virorum elogiis adornata, a Philippo Alegambe Bruxellensi ex eadem Societate Iesu (Antuerpiae: apud Ioannem Meursium, 1643), 447. http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/alegambe/alegambe1/jpg/s447.html. The same identification is found in V. Placcius, Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum, ex symbolis & collatione virorum per Europam doctissimorum ac celeberrimorum (Hamburg: sumptibus Viduae Gothofredi Liebernickelii, Typis Spieringianis, 1708), 42. http://books.google.es/books?id=Pgc_AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover
[10] M. Reta, "Elogia Mariana," 367. Information about Redelius is scarce, but it is known that he was priest of the Malines Archdiocese, a poet, a theologian, and a painter of landscapes in tempera. In addition, Reta passes on the belief that he lost his mind in 1687, a rather surprising piece of information considering the large number of books that he published after this date, all of which this author catalogues in her study; See also E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, Tome huitieme (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976), 641.

[11] I. Oxoviensi, Marianische Ehren-Titlen: in der Lauretanischen Lytaney begrieffen und in gebundener Redens-Arth durch Sentenz und Figuren der Göttlichen Schrifft kräfftige Aussprüch der Heiligen Vätter und verschiedener bewehrten Auctoren außerlesene Discursen (Wurtzburg: Mayen, Oehninger, 1703). http://books.google.es/books?id=XS9AAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover

[12] Redelius, Thronus Gratiae marianus in aula dive Virginis, ex litaniis Lauretanis pro Consolatione peccatorum fructuose erectus, Anagrammatice, & Cronodistice ornatus variis S.Scripturae Locis, ac Sententiis SS. Patrum (Vindelica Augustae: Typis Augusti Sturm, 1690) http://books.google.es/books?id=owxDAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover; Redelius, Fonticulus Marianus: Saliens in Vitam Aeternam, Ex S. Litaniis Lauretanis Anagrammaticè & Chronodisticè deductus, & scaturiens Variis S. Scripturae Locis, ac Sententiis SS. Patrum pro Refociliatione Animarum Sitibundarum, Seu Consolatione peccatorum (Augustae Vindelicorum: Excudit Augustus Sturm, 1690).
http://books.google.es/books?id=VzE9AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover

[13] Oxoviensi, Elogia Mariana, 262.

[14] The annals of Choniates have been translated into English by Harry Magoulias; the part corresponding to this procession can be found in City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984) 12. On the other hand, a more detailed description after Prodromos is provided by P. Magdalino, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180 (Cambridge University Press, 2002) 240-241.

[15] J. de la Pineda, Los Treynta libros de la Monarchia ecclesiástica, o Historia universal del mundo, tomo 3 (Barcelona: en la imprenta de Jayme Cendrat, 1606), f. 240v. http://books.google.es/books?id=p_2bledmcSwC&printsec=frontcover This description is an almost literal translation of Choniates' Annals.

ANDREA ALCIATO, 'PAUPERTATEM SUMMIS INGENIIS OBESSE NE PROVEHANTUR' (1531) / RICHARD SHIRLEY SMITH, 'CLASSICAL PROFILE' (2011)

Simon McKeown

Financial support for humanities scholarship has never been bountiful in any era, but the situation since the global recession hit in the last decade has been drastic indeed. The unfortunate lot of impoverished scholars was a theme understood by Andrea Alciato (1492-1550). As a university man at Avignon, Bourges, Bologna, Pavia and Ferrara, Alciato appreciated the need for economic security, and found it throughout his career in the form of stipends and salaries. There were episodes in his life when political circumstances were such that he fell back on the practice of the law, and it was during the years 1522 to 1527, while serving as a lawyer in Milan, that he wrote one of his most celebrated treatises, De verborum significatione. These were the years, too, when he honed his collection of emblems. In one of them, 'Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse ne provehantur' (Poverty prevents the advancement of the best of abilities), Alciato considers the plight of the talented scholar held back by financial constrictions. This

Richard Shirley Smith, 'Classical Profile' (2011)

Alciato, Les *emblemes* (Paris, 1584). Emblem '*Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse, ne provehantur*'

emblem, which was among those published in February 1531, shows a figure in doctoral gowns and cap struggling to control his right arm which is vigorously fledged at the wrist. While the wings on his arm tug the scholar upward, his other arm is burdened by a stone which pulls him down to the earth. Alciato's subscriptio elucidates the image thus: 'My right hand holds a rock, the other bears wings. As the feathers lift me, so the heavy weight drags me down. By my mental gifts I could have flown through the heights of heaven, if malign poverty did not hold me back.'[1] The emblem's pictura provides a corporeal exemplification of what amounts to a psychomachia, a struggle within the mind. The image is not governed by naturalism: it expresses cryptically an invisible battle between, on the one hand – as it were – the lofty, abstruse and abstracted ideas of philosophy and higher learning that prompts the mind to leave the constraints of everyday life behind; and on the other, the mundane, earthbound and deleterious demands of the body and the endless task of ministering to its sustenance and provision. The emblem argues eloquently for the encouragement of intellectual talent, regardless of financial or social background. It strikes the modern reader as unusually enlightened in promoting a democratization of knowledge, an awareness of the wide distribution of native intelligence, and an understanding that intellectual capacity is not a quality reserved for the social elite. In this, Alciato anticipates Thomas Gray's lines on the graveyard at Stoke Poges where the poet contemplated how many rustic villagers might have been writers had not 'Chill Penury repress'd their noble Rage'.[2]

Scholars have suggested that Alciato was mindful of an earlier hieroglyphic image when he composed his striking conceit of the impoverished scholar, a picture within that myste-

rious work Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, usually attributed to Francesco Colonna and published by Aldus Manutius in 1499. There, on a porphyry tablet we see carved a woman 'wreathed with a serpent' with 'a pair of wings in her hand, and in the other a tortoise'. This, one of the characters, Logistica, explains, signifies that we should 'Control speed by sitting, and slowness by rising'.[3] Within this figure we see a similar tension between opposing energies, the fleetness of the wings against the torpor of the lumbering tortoise. Perhaps it was this image that prompted Aldus to develop his famous printing device of a dolphin, that swift, mercurial swimmer, entwined around the dense mass of an anchor, a device he first deployed in 1502.[4] Certainly, Alciato's wings and stone participate in a wider humanistic iconography of oppositional forces and energies popular in the years around the turn of the sixteenth century – together with these Aldine manifestations, consider the ant and elephant hieroglyph elsewhere in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, the tortoise with a sail sprouting from its back – a device of the Medici –, or the cube and sphere dichotomy of Mercury and Fortuna found on the frontispiece of Carolus Bovillus' *Liber de sapiente* (1510).

Whatever its origins, the emblem of the conflicted scholar in time became a staple of other emblem authors. It was taken over in a straightforward manner by writers like Thomas Palmer and Geffrey Whitney, and in more mediated ways by Otto Vaenius and Gabriel Rollenhagen.[5] For Palmer, the emblem particularly commented upon young scholars setting out on the foothills of learning:

In Oxforde and in Cambridge eke […]
Bene such, as nature favors muche,
but fortune frownes vppon.
Their witte, their memory is muche,
their diligence is more;
Their charges greate, their livinge smalle,
of goodes they have no store,
So povertie breakes of the race,
wherin they ran before,
And makes theim shifte or thei be ripe,
to lyve, and lerne no more [6]

This identification Palmer makes of the poor scholar with a young scholar is not explicit in Alciato's original text, but it became the accepted understanding of his emblem through the commentaries of Claude Mignault which first appeared in 1571; for Mignault, the emblem concerned the 'Adolescentis … ingeniosi'. When Gabriel Rollenhagen and Crispijn de Passe the Elder re-deployed the scholar with the winged hand and the stone, the emphasis in their emblem was notably more optimistic. Where there is an unmistakable fatalism in Alciato's original text, the hampering effect of poverty is something that Rollenhagen's speaker seems confident of overcoming: 'As the feathers swing me upwards, so the unimaginable weight presses me down: because of poverty, I am kept low; because of talent I will rise up to the heights'.[7] As is often the case with Rollenhagen and De Passe's emblem book, the secondary action in the background of the pictura is worth our attention. In this case we see the shepherd-boy David swinging his sling in the direction of the Philistine giant, Goliath, in illustration of 1st Samuel 17. With some wit, De Passe converts the modest,

unassuming stone into a potent projectile; this stone, far from impeding David's progress, will propel him to the forefront of his nation's affairs and to the front rank of divine approval. In its passage from sling to giant's forehead, it will indeed take wing and ascend the heights. Is De Passe suggesting that poverty can be the very incitement to, and instigator of, academic achievement?

Alciato's emblem continues to resonate with modern readers. In 2003, a Festschrift was prepared under the direction of Marc van Vaeck, Hugo Brems and Geert H.M. Claassens in honour of the distinguished Dutch emblem scholar, Karel Porteman. In it, tribute was paid to Professor Porteman's masterly scholarship over many decades, but recognition too of his stewardship of the administrative labours pertaining to his role. The title given to this volume in appreciation of his mastery of both intellectual and pragmatic roles was The Stone of Alciato.

But the essential tension between antipathetic forces that Alciato's emblem so concisely expresses still seems to hold power for artists working today. This may be the case in the work of the British painter, engraver and illustrator, Richard Shirley Smith, who celebrated his eightieth birthday in 2015. Over many decades, Shirley Smith has enjoyed the highest accolades for his many beautiful woodblock illustrations for fine print publications by The Folio Society, among others, and for his work as a muralist and decorative artist in the venerable tradition of Rex Whistler and John Fowler. But he is also a celebrated painter of mysterious canvases full of allusions to the Classical world, the Renaissance, the Italian past – and a dash of Victoriana. His still life works connect with Surrealism and show rapport with De Chirico and Dali, as well as older tra-

ditions of Vanitas painting. He likes to add enigmatic texts in Latin to his compositions in a way familiar to readers of emblemata. And it is perhaps the case that Shirley Smith places an allusion to Alciato's 'Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse ne provehantur' in a painting from 2011 entitled 'Classical Profile'. Its subject is characteristically enigmatic, but centres upon a female classical bust crowned with wild flowers framed by a jug with feathers, a sculptural fragment, and a pale pink curtain. Here we see some elements typical of Shirley Smith's still lifes over several decades: an obelisk, a shell, a Corinthian capital, and a withered artichoke. There are glances at the quadratura tradition of Italian painting, as well as to the trompe l'oeil still life. But what draws the eye is the curious sculptural fragment, a broken-off lower arm with a hand holding a stone.[7] This sculptural shard is suspended from a double cord, thereby emphasizing the weightiness of the fragment in itself, and of the stone in the carved hand's grasp. This massy element hangs ponderously to one side of the classical head. Occupying the symmetrically equivalent space on the other side of the head is a jug filled with feathers. Tracing a lateral axis, then, are two elements suggestive of antagonistic properties; the density of the dependent stone, and the airiness of the feathers. That Shirley Smith is adept and versed in such iconographical playfulness is not in doubt; within this piece, we also see the meaningful juxtaposition of the obelisk of eternity against the vanitas elements of the seashell and the withered flower-head.

It would be unsophisticated and simplistic to insist that Shirley Smith was intending a modern interpretation of 'Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse ne provehantur' in his 'Classical Profile'; the painting is an independent work of art with its own internal logic and a dream-like poetical aura quite re-

moved from the vigorous graphic energy of Alciato's illustrated epigram. But to an artist as fully conversant with the culture of the Renaissance as Shirley Smith, and one addicted over his long life to the collection of books of engravings, it is hardly far-fetched to suggest a certain iconographical rapport between elements within 'Classical Profile' and the work of the Milanese humanist. Of course, Shirley Smith's work is a compendium of classically inspired, Italianate sources, re-imagined for the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries: but we can perhaps enjoy his cryptic utterance expressed in private communication when the artist, with a twinkle in his eye, teasingly suggested that the painting 'would be better named "Alciato"'!

NOTES

[1] Thomas Gray, 'An Elegy wrote in a Country Church Yard' (1751), l. 51.
[2] I quote from Betty Knott's translation. In fact, the woodblock artist of the first edition of Alciato's Emblematum liber, Jörg Breu, has made an iconographical error in his execution of the xylograph, because Alciato's text assigns the two elements of wings and stone to the other hands: the epigram opens 'Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas,/ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus….' This was one of several mistakes in the woodblock illustrations which apparently frustrated the author and perhaps prompted him to have his emblems published by Wechel in Paris. In Wechel's various editions of Alciato, the wings and stone are correctly allocated dexter and sinister, and this was followed in subsequent editions of Alciato across Europe.
[3] Colonna 1999, pp. 133-134.
[4] Concerning the Aldine device, see Goldfinch and Coane 2015, pp. 13-14.
[5] When Otto Vaenius published his famous Amorum emblemata in 1608, he included an allusion to Alciato's emblem when he added wings to the right hand of one of his Amorini. This was to exemplify his moral that 'Celerem oportet esse amatoris manum' (The lover should show a speedy hand). See Vaenius 1608, pp. 110-111.
[6] Palmer 1988, pp. 64-65.
[7] Rollenhagen 1983, pp. 296-297.

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ALCIATO'S EMBLEM "IN EUM QUI TRUCULENTIA SUORUM PERIERIT"

Rubem Amaral Jr.

In memoriam Aylan Kurdi, the Syrian three-year-old refugee toddler whose drowned corpse was found on a Turkish beach on 2 September 2015, and for so many others who lost their lives in that treacherous crossing.

News keeps appearing about more Syrian immigrants dying at sea. Another child's body was found even more recently on a Turkish beach on the Aegean, this time a female named Sajida Ali. Since January 2015, at least 700 children lost their lives in the Mediterranean in similar circumstances. This brings freshly to our minds the tragic reality of the inhumane events that daily threaten to become relegated to passing oblivion and banality.

Depending on the observer's point of view, several of Alciato's emblems can be applied to this awful tragedy, so it is difficult to choose the most appropriate emblem to illustrate these events. These drownings occur in a region of the world that is considered the cradle of Western civilization and whose ancient mythology continues to feed the European imagination. Is 'In avaros, vel quibus melior conditio ab extraneis offertur' the best choice? But these little Arions without lyres could not

Delphinem invitum me in littora compulit aestus
Exemplum infido quanta pericla mari.
Nam si nec propriis Neptunus parcit alumnis,
Quis tutos homines navibus esse putet?

[I am a dolphin whom the tide drove ashore against my will, an example showing what great dangers there are in the treacherous sea. For if Neptune does not spare even his own nurslings, who can think that men are safe in ships?]

Emblem 167. Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata* (Padua, 1621). Alciato at Glasgow: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A21a167

attract a dolphin to carry them to shore, since there are not enough dolphins to save the thousands of humans thrown into the stormy waters by misfortune.

Could it be 'Spes proxima'? Castor and Pollux certainly did not show themselves in the sky at the proper moment to save their ships.

What about 'In temerarios'? It would be unfair to blame these desperate people of imprudence. Under unbearable duress, they took the risky path because of a lack of options instead, not because of sheer irresponsibility. This is even truer for the children, who did not have the power to choose their fate.

Certainly Aylan's and Sajida's parents, like their many companions in misfortune, put their hopes 'In dies meliora' for their families. Alciato, in his rather rude but purposely humorous image, compares the behavior of the feeding boar, which always goes forward and never looks back, with human nature. Humans do not want hope to collapse and fail. Instead, they want what lies ahead, always looking for something better. I wonder whether the West is prepared to grant those wretches such good prospects. Without being excessively Panglossian, let's leave room for some optimism.

Aylan's and Sajida's fate, the same as that of over 3,200 refugees this year alone, seems rather like that of the dolphin in emblem 'In eum qui truculentia suorum perierit,' exposed to the dangers of the insidious sea if they cannot count on Neptune's benevolence.

This is the same fate as Helle, who fell from the flying golden-fleeced ram in search of safety, giving name to the Hellespont. Should not that part of the sea where the Syrian boy

lost his life be rebaptized Aylanpont? Europa, who once crossed those same waters on the back of a divine bull, must revisit the classic myths in order to regain her spirit.

REFERENCE

- Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, (Padua, Petro Paulo Tozzi, 1621). Emblem 167.

HAUNTING EMBLEMS: TOMASZ TRETER IN ALEKSANDRA WALISZEWSKA'S INTERPRETATION

Alicja Bielak

Can the modern reader, leafing through engravings in old prints, find something for herself? Surely, the popularity of increasingly numerous Facebook fan pages dedicated to sharing historical engravings of animals or drawings sketched by bored monks on the margins of manuscripts centuries ago, demonstrates that old pictures are as entertaining today as they were in their time. But can the figures and scenes from moralistic emblems, with their esoteric quality and the requirement of the readers' ability to identify symbolic codes, haunt us in our dreams and nightmares?

Tomasz Treter (1547–1610) was a Polish priest and one of the most trusted associates of the cardinal and papal legate in Poland, Stanisław Hozjusz (Hosius), the official responsible for implementing the reforms of the Council of Trent and introducing the Society of Jesus to Poland. Besides working in Hosius' office, Treter fulfilled his ambitions as an artist, writer and engraver. In Poland, he had no opportunities to become a professional engraver. Son of a bookbinder, Treter endeavored

to acquire his desired skills during his diplomatic stay in Rome (1569–1584). His first work Theatrum virtutum was prepared soon after the death of Hosius in 1579[1].

The collection of emblems Symbolica vitae Christi meditatio (1612) is Treter's last work, particularly interesting in the light of today's fascination with historical imagery. Treter was the author of the emblematic compositions, but the engraver was his nephew, Błażej Treter. The book was published posthumously by Georg Schönfels. It contains 123 copperplate engravings. The main topic of the collection was the meditation of the symbols of the life of Christ. However, the presentation of the items in the icons exceeds Christian symbolism. Objects and figures connected with the life of Christ are extruded from reality and placed within compositions which bring surrealist visions to mind. They include: a pair of human eyes drifting in a vacuum (the symbol of the original sin), two winged hands (contemplatio), a male torso dangling from a tree branch with pouch hanging on its neck (Judas), hands emerging from behind a cloud and washed in a washbowl (Pontius Pilate), an hourglass hanging from a cloud (vigilantia), a heart with a mouth placed between two palms, one open and one closed (sinceritas), severed heads of infants lying on the ground and a hand lifted above them wielding sword (infanticidium) and many more.

Ideas for Treter's imaginarium come from the Bible (especially the Psalms and Gospels) as well as the writings of Church Fathers (Gregory the Great and Hieronymus). Focusing on "sacred texts" is characteristic for this trend in emblematics, called "the sacred emblems" (emblemata sacra) by the one of the main figures of counterreformation, Antonio Possevino, in his most significant work Bibliotheca selecta. He advised artists to compose emblems in such a way that they depict God's wis-

dom and become an impulse to "piety, virtues and nobility of the soul"[2]. According to Possevino, the topic of this type of emblems was supposed to rely on the Old and New Testament. By abandoning pagan themes, emblematics was meant to be a response and counterbalance to "indecent, secular painters"[3]. As a model example Possevino pointed to the emblem entitled Non quae super terram from Claude Paradin's Devises heroïques (1557). The pictura shows hands extending from behind clouds and reaching for manna from heaven – the symbol of the Holy Sacrament[4]. Possevino's model emblem is similar to Treter's works in its minimalistic expression and the sparing selection of elements (a pair of hands and manna are canonical symbols from biblical stories). In fact, Treter modelled his designs on few of Paradin's emblems. For example Paradin's emblematic icon In sibilo aurae tenuis has been copied exactly in Laetitia spiritualis and the icon from the emblem Hoc Caesar me donavit was the model for Treter's Desiderium coelesti.

According to the title of Treter's book, the emblems were supposed to be used as a starting point for meditation on certain episodes from the life of Christ. They visualize historical events, because – as Treter asserts – Christ cannot be seen in any other way. Therefore, a Christian should meditate on some aspects of Christ's earthly life. Such a construction of reader experience is similar to Louis Richeome's project of emblematic-mnemonic figures. According to the French Jesuit, emblems could bring to mind the most important truths from the Bible as well as Catholic dogmas, while being very persuasive vehicles for the contemplation of the love of God and the necessity to reciprocate it[5]. For Treter, the contemplation of the life of Christ, for which his emblems were useful and effective, helps to expel sin from everyday life.

Despite the strong connection of Treter's symbols with Christology, the Polish painter inspired by them, Aleksandra Waliszewska (b. 1971) stripped them from their original context by preparing new compositions on the basis of Treter's graphic motifs. When looking at Treter's work with fresh eyes, more attuned to twentieth-century art, its truly surrealist character can be detected – and Waliszewska makes use of this. For example, Treter combined detached body parts in his compositions, which continue to affect our emotions and memories even today. The emblem Magdalenae poenitentia (The Penance of Magdalene) depicts a pair of eyes crying tears onto two human feet covered by a clump of hair. A viewer acquainted with the Christian iconosphere immediately recognizes the meaning of such a juxtaposition: it refers to the washing of Christ's feet with tears and oil by the "a (…) woman who lived a sinful life" (Luke 7,36–38), identified in the Christian tradition either as Mary (Martha's sister) or Mary Magdalene.

Aleksandra Waliszewska transfers the faceless eyes from the abstract space of Treter's emblem into a landscape of a deeply distressing nightmare – the typical background of her paintings. Here, it is not the weeping penitent who grieves over his sinfulness while meeting with his Saviour, but the sky itself mourns a dying deer (Fig. 2) or centaur (Fig. 3) about to be caught by a hunter (as suggested by the arrows which have sunk deep into their bodies).

In Waliszewska's gouaches, the cruelty of the last moments of Christ and the themes of Passion, turn into surrealistic scenes from a nightmare. Waliszewska retains the central composition and sparing use of artistic means characteristic of Treter's emblems. Yet, her opening up the space in each painting deepens the emptiness of the world and the loneliness of

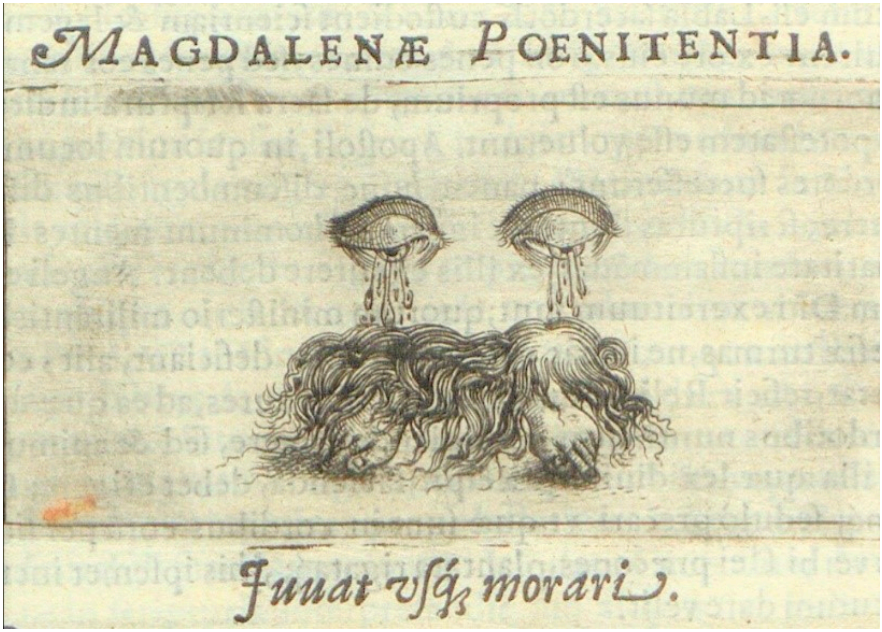


Fig. 1: T. Treter, Magdalenae poenitentia in: Symbolicae vitae Christi, engraver: B. Treter, p. 52.

Fig. 2: A. Waliszewska, no title, 2008-2012

Fig. 3: A. Waliszewska, no title, 2008-2012

the beings living in it. Now, the eyes looking from heaven do not necessarily belong to God overseeing his creation. In Waliszewska's paintings, these eyes can reflect the sorrow and pain of a wounded animal, multiplicating its suffering and conveying its immersion in it.

Exercises in Christian virtues were intended to prepare the faithful for a successful battle with the world, the flesh, and the devil. To the latter, Treter dedicated the emblem Daemonum in porcos expulsion, in which he illustrated the scene from Matthew 8,31–32. After Jesus landed on the shore of Gadarenes, he encountered two men possessed by demons, who lived in tombs nearby. The demons begged Jesus to expel them into a herd of pigs. Soon, the possessed herd rushed down into the lake and drowned in it. In the motto of the emblem ("Quo du-

cit quemque voluptas" [where pleasure leads everyone]) Treter cites De rerum natura of Lucretius (2,258)[6]. The fragment concerns the problem of human free will, which releases people from fate but also – as Treter suggests – can drive them to the baleful pursuit for the satisfaction of their desires.
The emblem became an inspiration for several of Waliszews-

Fig. 4: T. Treter, Daemonum in porcos expulsio in: Symbolicae vitae Christi, engraver: B. Treter, p. 44.

Fig. 5: A. Waliszewska, no title

ka's gouaches in which she portrays a certain kind of hermits devoid of any company, including the gaze of the Eye of Providence. Suffering and mad with fear, a panicked horse struggles for its life in an oceanic wasteland (Fig. 5). In a similar composition, another creature, a goat with empty eyes and lolled tongue, floats on the surface of the water (Fig. 6) It clearly symbolizes the devil. One more demonic creature depicted by Waliszewska is a mermaid which looks much more like a hunter than prey in its oceanic habitat. The monstrous creature is probably tracking her victim (who once caught will not be able

Fig. 6: A. Waliszewska, no title

to escape or expect mercy – as Waliszewska shows elsewhere, in her mermaid cycle). Both the centaur and the mermaid are partial self-portraits of the artist, who admitted to reproducing mostly her own features in order to avoid the stress of working with models[7]. The last painting corresponds with a biblical story: it shows a group of rodents which jump into the water as though in a swimming relay race and gather together among the waves.

Such an encounter of two artists four hundred years apart en-

Fig. 7: A. Waliszewska, no title

ables the viewer to deepen the perspective on both. Waliszewska has been fascinated with old Polish graphics for years. Besides Treter, to whom she dedicated an entire collection of paintings, another Polish engraver – Jan Ziarnko (1575–1630) – has also sparked her interest with his apocalyptic works. Waliszewska populates her gouaches with figures and motifs from old engravings, immersing them in traumatic and horrific spaces full of violence and fear. On the other hand, in his preparation of symbolic episodes for his own meditations upon the vita Christi, Treter tried to convince the reader that in a

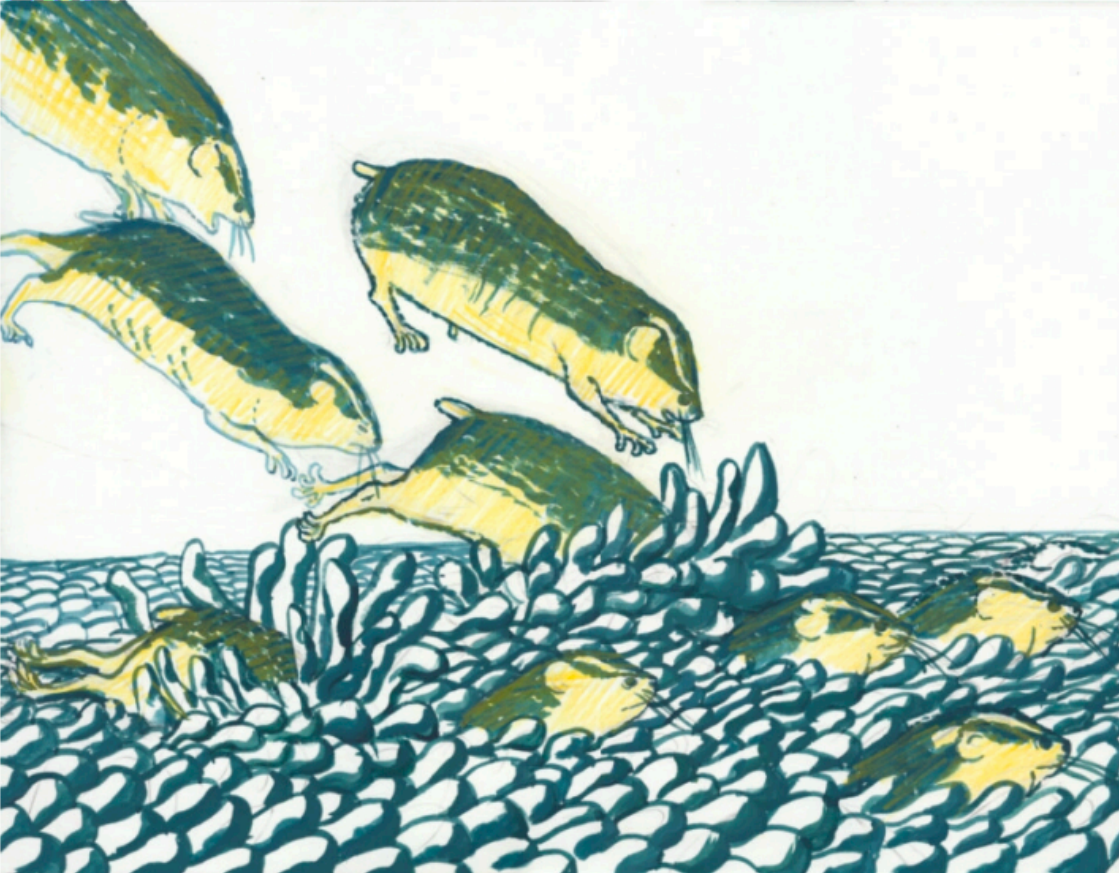


Fig. 8: A. Waliszewska, no title

world without God's guidance, there will be only sorrow and fear. While Treter wanted his emblems to fill the reader's memory with episodes from the life of Christ and create an impulse to leading a moral life consistent with Christian values (Fig. 9), the same framework allowed Waliszewska to present a collection of scenes recalling the flashbacks from nightmares (Fig. 10). Who awakens from them can sigh with relief as though it was only a bad dream, but he or she will have these few scenes in mind for a long time.

NOTES

Fig. 9: A. T. Treter, Infanticidium, in: Symbolicae vitae Christi, engraver: B. Treter, p. 20.

NOTES

* This paper is the result of a research project financed by state funds for science (2014–2018), under the auspices of the Diamentowy Grant program. For more Polish emblems visit the site of the Polish Emblem Project.

[1] G. Jurkowlaniec, Sprawczość Rycin. Rzymska twórczość Tomasza Tretera i jej europejskie oddziaływanie, Warszawa 2017, p. 248. See also T. Chrzanowski, Działalność artystyczna Tomasza Tretera, Warszawa 1984.

[2] A. Possevino, Bibliotheca selecta de ratione, ad disciplinas et ad salutem omnium gentium procurandam, Venetiis 1603, vol. 2, p. 551.

[3] Ibidem, p. 480.

[4] C. Paradin, Devises heroïques, Lyons 1557, p. 56: „La nourriture et aliment de l'Esprit, est le Pain celeste, ou saint Sacrement de l'Autel, designé par la Manne tombant des cieus des Israëlites, Mistere porté aujourdhui en Devise, par M. le R. Cardinal de Tournon".

Fig. 10: A. Waliszewska, no title

[5] L. Richeome, Tableaux sacres des figures mystiques du très auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie, Paris 1609, p. [9]: „ces tableaux n'est pas mienne, ie n'y ay qu'un peu de langage: elle est du fils de Dieu qui iadus en a tire' les lineamens et piur fils sur la membrance, ou de la loy de nature […] ou de son vieil Testament […]".
[6] "Whence comes this free will for living things all over the earth, whence, I ask, is it wrested from fate, this will whereby we move forward, where pleasure leads each one of us, and swerve likewise in our motions neither at determined times nor in a determined direction of place, but just where our mind has carried us?" (Lucretius, On the nature of things, transl. C. Bailey, Oxford 1948, p. 74, v. 257–260).
[7] http://culture.pl/pl/tworca/aleksandra-waliszewska.

MEMORIALISING MARY: THE MONUMENT TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Michael Bath

Many of us who saw Josie Rourke's recent (2018) film about Mary Queen of Scots, starring Saoise Ronan and Margot Roberts, will remember that scene, quite late in the film, where the two Queens meet at some undisclosed location in the north of England. At least one or two critics noted that this meeting, for all its drama, never happened, and academic historians and pedants, such as myself, worried about the falsification of history. But Josie Rourke wasn't the first or only scriptwriter to dramatise such a meeting, for in 1801 Friedrich Schiller had already brought them together on stage in order to dialogue their differences in his play Maria Stuart – and this is the play which inspired Donizetti's famous opera in 1835. The closest the two queens actually got to a meeting, however, was only posthumously when, shortly after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Mary's son, James VI of Scotland and I of England, decided to erect the imposing monuments to both queens here in Westminster Abbey.

Fig. 1: Queen Mary's tomb, Westminster Abbey (verso)

However, commemorating both his predecessors was never going to be that straightforward. Not only because one queen had chopped off the other's head, but also because one queen was Protestant and the other Catholic. Now it is certainly true that, as most of the Abbey's Friends and Guides who are here tonight will know, since 1534 the Abbey has enjoyed the status of a Royal Peculiar, having been refounded by Elizabeth as a Collegiate Church, exempt from the jurisdiction of archbishops and bishops, neither a cathedral nor parish church but subject only to the sovereign.

Nevertheless Catholics were still persecuted as recusants in England, and James's commissioning of the tomb to his martyred mother in 1606 was unlikely to be viewed without some surprise, only less than twelve months after the Gunpowder Plot, in which Catholic conspirators, notably Guy Fawkes, had attempted to blow up the Houses of Parliament, just across the road from where we are now sitting.

James's attempts, as Head of the established Church of England, to plot a via media between what he saw as Puritan extremism on the one hand, and toleration of recusant Catholics on the other, have been extensively documented and studied by historians, as also have his foreign policy objectives in attempting to negotiate an equally conciliatory foreign policy for Britain's relationships with continental Europe. The 1604 Treaty of London officially ended the war with Spain for which no Peace Agreement had been signed since the Armada victory in 1588. On the other hand there was strong support at home and abroad for him to pursue policies that would support the growing European attempts to make Britain leader of an anti-Hapsburg Protestant League. Either of these alternatives held equally problematic consequences not only for Britain's

place in Europe, but also for the royal marriages of whichever of James's children –– Henry, or Elizabeth, or James –– would happen to succeed him. Monarchy, after all, is all about breeding. The fact that James's wife, Queen Anna of Denmark, had some years previously converted to Catholicism meant that attempts to reinforce the anti-Jesuit Act of 1584, which ordered that all Roman Catholic priests in England should either be expelled or executed, were not successful. Although Act was not repealed Stuart policy remained more well-disposed towards religious toleration than Elizabethan policy had been. Needless to say, all these issues have been intensively researched and debated in academic histories.

But this evening I want to just alert you to some recent discoveries of my own which shed further light on these issues, but which you won't find recorded as yet in any of the literature on early Stuart history or on the Westminster Abbey monuments. These discoveries relate to just two mall details that I want to draw your attention to tonight in the long Latin inscription that we can read (if we have enough time, good eyesight, and read Latin) on Mary's monument. I cannot show you the inscription right now, but if you wanted to follow up on what I'm going to say, you can easily find it quoted in full, with a helpful English translation, on the Abbey Website.

My first Eureka! moment came when I read the following lines of the inscription:

Victa nequid vinci nec carcere clausa teneri,
Non occisa mori, sed neque capta capi.
Sic vitis succisa gemit fecundior uvis,
Sculptaque purpureo, gemma decore micat.

"Conquered, she was unconquerable, nor could the dungeon detain her; slain, yet deathless, imprisoned, yet not a prisoner. Thus does the pruned vine groan with a greater abundance of grapes, and the cut jewel gleams with a brilliant splendour."

Sic vitis succisa gemit fecundior uvis – "Thus does the pruned vine groan with a greater abundance of grapes". It was this image that first caught my attention because some years ago – in 2003 – I wrote a book on the embroideries that Mary sewed, mostly during the later years of her life when she was in exile in England, in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury and his wife, Bess of Hardwick. Many of these embroideries have survived in the care of the V&A, and many can still be seen on display at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. Amongst the most interesting and important of these – for reasons that we shall soon see – is the centrepiece to the Oxburgh 'Marian Hanging'. (Fig. 2)

As you'll see, this embroidery shows a hand holding a knife, with which it is pruning the leaves of a vine-stem that is laden with bunches of grapes. The Latin motto draws the moral of this emblem, Virescit vulnere virtus ("Virtue flourishes from its wounds"). I think you can begin to see why, if inscribed on Mary's monument, such a moral might have some potentially interesting implications; Mary's beheading might have brought some benefits; her wounds may have stimulated new growth (the rare verb viresco means "to grow greener", "to flourish again"). As I show in my book Mary did not invent this emblem specifically for this piece of embroidery, sewn sometime probably in the last twenty years of her life, in exile, for in 1557, a year before she married François II in France, a medal had been minted and inscribed to "Mary, by the Grace of God Queen of

Scots" (MARIA DEI GRATIA SCOTORUM REGINA).

You can find out quite a lot more about this particular emblem in my book, but for now there is just one historical record of it that is of the greatest importance for understanding what it is doing in the monumental inscription here in Westminster Abbey. In 1572 we learn that this emblem was cited as evidence in the trial for high treason of Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Mary Queen of Scots had in the preceding couple of years contemplated the prospect of marriage to Norfolk, who was like herself and like all the Howards, a Catholic. But the prospect of such a Catholic marriage between England's premier Earl, and the dethroned Queen of Scots who seemingly had a strong claim, circumstances permitting, to succeed Elizabeth, if not to actually replace her, on the English throne – raised all kinds of headaches for Elizabeth.

So Norfolk didn't marry the Queen of Scots, but got his head chopped off, and one of the pieces of evidence which led to this verdict was extracted from Mary's ambassador and counsellor, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, who testified that the year before the trial he had been in Howard's house when one of Mary's servants delivered to the Duke a love token in the shape of an embroidery "wrought with the Scots' Queen's own arms, and a devyse upon it, with this sentence virescit vulnere virtus, and a hand with a knife cutting down the vines, as they use in the spring time: al which worke was made by the Scots Queen's own hand".

Anyone who has worked on decorative and artistic objects knows just how rare it is to find good historical records of the way they were created or used in their own day, so when I first came across this it seemed a wonderful record of Mary's embroidery. But who, you may well be wondering was this

Fig. 2: Oxburgh Hall, 'Marian Hanging' (ref. M. Bath, Emblems for a Queen: The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots, London: Archetype, 2008, fig. 1.8)

Bishop of Ross who witnessed Mary's emblematic vine-pruning embroidery being delivered to the ill-fated Duke of Norfolk? Appointed Catholic Bishop of Ross in 1566, he had been sent to France by Scottish Catholic nobles following the death of King François to persuade her to come back to Scotland and during her personal reign he became one of her most trusted advisors, entrusted with her jewels and appointed member of her Privy Council. Following Mary flight into England, he defended her cause at York in 1568 and himself devised the policy of her marriage to the Duke of Norfolk, and was appointed as her ambassador to the English Court. On the failure of the Ridolfi plot he was imprisoned in the Tower, which is where this witness statement would have been recorded. In 1572 he published a Defence of the Honour of Marie Quene of Scotland. On being discharged from prison he was banished from England and lived until he was sixty-nine and fathered three children. He spent his last years in France where he was made Bishop of Coutances in 1593 and died in Brussels three years later.

So, discovering John Leslie's description of the vine-pruning emblem on the Oxburgh 'Marian Hanging' was a red-letter day for my own research on the embroideries. But that excitement was, if anything, exceeded by what I discovered when I came to work on Mary's monument here in the Abbey, for the writer who composed these Latin verses which describe Mary as a vine whose pruning has stimulated greater fruitfulness, was Henry Howard, younger brother of Thomas whose execution in 1572, as we have noted, had thwarted English Catholic plans to put an adherent of the old religion on Elizabeth's throne. Like virtually all the Howards, Norfolk's younger brother Henry was a known Catholic. Not only that, but he was one of the most

powerful officers of state in Jacobean England, Privy Counsellor, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Earl of Northampton. He had been closely involved in the state planning, financing and design of the Westminster Abbey monuments.

We seldom know who writes the inscriptions on tombstones –– their purpose is not to earn laurels for their writer but to commemorate the virtues and achievements of the deceased. But one of the details that makes this inscription on the Westminster monument quite distinctive is the fact that, if you look very closely, it ends by signing off with its author's initials: "H. N. gemens" which means "Henry Northampton, sighing/mourning". All inscriptions on monuments are honorific: funerary commemorations are laudatory – that is the convention. We should therefore not expect this one to remind us of the high treason of which Queen Marie Stuart had been convicted under English law, nor of her membership of the Roman Catholic Church. A reminder of her statutory right to the succession ('Mistress of Scotland by law, of France by marriage, of England by expectation', l.11) might have been uncontroversial or even expected on such a monument for that was what, after all, had brought about the glorious Union of Crowns which the two royal monuments are there to celebrate. The statement that this happy outcome had only been made possible by Queen Mary's heroic fortitude and suffering, however, is opening the gates to a rather more troublesome and controversial judgement, namely that she was some kind of martyr; and the call for vengeance on those who caused her suffering ('May the day of death swoop upon the death-dealers. . . may the instigator and perpetrator rush headlong to destruction', lines 27-28 of the inscription) risks even more controversial conclusions, which the hope that this suffering is what has secured a lasting

peace hardly dispels ('May it be forbidden to slaughter monarchs, that henceforward the land of Britain may never more flow with purple blood', lines 29-30). Hence this monument surely becomes, for those who can read the Latin, a memorial to Mary the Martyr.

We cannot know whether his use of the vine-pruning emblem means that the Earl of Northampton had seen Mary's actual embroidery, but there is surely the strongest likelihood that he would have known of the role that it played in the State Trial of his elder brother thirty years earlier, when it helped to secure the conviction that cut off his brother's head. And the presence in these Latin verses of other allusions that are open to the suggestion that Queen Mary is being commemorated as a Catholic Martyr raises the whole question of how those who read them, and certainly those who authorised them for the tombstone, above all King James himself, understood them or approved them. It is highly unlikely that he would not have done so, since he was a fluent reader and writer of Latin, having been taught by Scotland's most distinguished neo-Latin humanist poet, George Buchanan, who – as James famously complained – 'gar me speik Latin ar I could speik Scottis'.

There is one further image in the Earl of Northampton's Westminster Abbey inscription that refers to an emblem that Mary had used in her embroideries and that was also used on a contemporary medal. It occurs in lines 10-11:

> *Jure Scotos, thalamo Francos Spe possidet Anglos,*
> *Triplice sic triplex jure corona beat.*
>
> [Mistress of Scotland by law, of France by marriage, of England by expectation, thus she is blest by a three-fold right with a three-fold crown.

Mary's threefold crown is thus identified as including Scotland, France and England, which looks straightforward enough. But this claim to the three crowns also figures in an emblem which Mary had sewn into her embroideries and in this the three crowns are not all equal, for one of them was represented not as an earthly crown but as a heavenly one made up of stars. We cannot illustrate this particular embroidery because it was sewn into hangings for her Bed of State which have not survived, but we can show quite clearly what it looked like since in 1560, many years before she sewed her embroidery, a medal had been issued showing the same device.

Fig. 3: Medal of Mary Queen of Scots, 1560, showing two earthly crowns beneath the star-filled sky, motto Aliamque moratur ('And awaits another').

This medal was minted in the same year as the Treaty of Edinburgh, drawn up following the defeat of French troops in the Siege of Leith by an English and Scottish Protestant army – a key turning point in relations between the three nations, with the death of Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, happening in the same year. It resulted in the withdrawal of French troops from Scotland, the end of the Auld Alliance, and a new Anglo-Scottish accord under the Protestant Lords of the Congregation, which hastened the decline of the Catholic Church and the arrival of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland. Mary in France refused to ratify the treaty because it affirmed Elizabeth's right to the English throne, negating her own claim, which depended on strongly contested arguments about the legality of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and his subsequent marriage to Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn. We can therefore see how easily the use of such an emblem in the Westminster inscription might recall this key moment in Scottish history. Even in its own day the emblem might seem politically astute, claiming either a heavenly crown that carries no political weight and testifies only to the young Queen's pious hopes or, alternatively, symbolising her insistence on retaining claims to the third earthly crown, in England, which the Treaty of Edinburgh had denied. And its relevance to the seventeenth-century Union of Crowns in which that dynastic inheritance had finally been fulfilled by Mary's son James is surely clear enough.

This emblem of the three crowns had a remarkable afterlife, which I haven't time to document at all fully here, except to illustrate just one notable exception which is rather uncannily anticipated by something Northampton says in his verses on the monument, in which he reacts with some vehemence to those who shed the blood of Mary Queen of Scots, he pleads

"May it be forbidden to slaughter monarchs, that henceforward the land of Britain may never more flow with purple blood (Sic Reges mactare nefas, ut sanguine posthac /Purpureo numquam terre Britanna fluat). So, "Let there be no more regicides in Britain!" Henry Howard could not have foreseen, in writing this, quite how soon Britain would descend into those civil wars which would lead only forty or so years later to the regicide of James's son and successor Charles I.

It is highly ironic, however, that one of the most influential commemorations of that regicide should make prominent use of the device of the Three Crowns. It makes use of this emblem, moreover, with a notable understanding of its previous history, going back to the Aliamque moratur emblem of Mary Queen of Scots. Just ten days after the beheading of King Charles on 30th January 1649, a book entitled Eikon Basilike ('Portrait of a Prince') appeared in defence of the martyred king, and despite attempts of the Parliamentarians to suppress it (attempts which include John Milton's Eikonoclastes) it proved so popular with Royalist readers that it went through no fewer than fifty-six reprints. Indeed, its portrait of Charles as a Martyr influenced, after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, the addition of 'Charles the Martyr' to the Church of England's official liturgical calendar.

If we look at the title-page you'll see that it shows the late King Charles I, kneeling in prayer before an altar where a heavenly crown gleams amidst clouds. This is one of three crowns that make up the emblematic syntax that structures the right-hand side of the engraving, for below it on a table (or altar) King Charles grasps a crown of thorns, below which at his feet an earthly crown lies abandoned on the ground. And here, of course, we have the latest reworking of that emblem of three

crowns that goes back through the Westminster Abbey inscription. The verses printed with this title page draw the moral:

That splendid, but yet toilsome Crown,
Regardlesly I trample down.
With joy I take this Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.
That heav'nly Crown, already mine,
I view with eyes of faith divine.
I slight vain things; and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace.

I am not suggesting that this highly influential title-page was inspired by Howard's inscription on Mary's Westminster tomb, but I think you can see how easily this emblem of the three crowns could be interpreted as a symbol of Martyrdom.

I want to end by just thinking a bit further about King James's motives for building the tombs to his two royal predecessors in the Henry VII Chapel. These are by no means the only verses commemorating Mary as a Catholic Martyr to have been written at this date, nor is the Earl of Northampton's inscription the earliest, for shortly after her execution the Jesuit priest (and eventual martyr himself), Thomas Southwell, wrote his densely emblematic elegy for the martyred queen entitled 'Decease Release'

Alive a Queene now dead I am a Sainte
Once Mary calld my name now martyr is.

And the closeness of Southwell's emblems to Henry Howard's is suggested by lines 3-4 of his elegy:

Fig. 4: William Marshall, frontispiece to Eikon Basilike.

The perish kernel springeth with increase
The lopped tree doth best and soonest growe

Southwell himself died on the scaffold for his faith, and the Catholic church remembers him as a martyr on 21 February every year. His poems were never published in his lifetime, though they did circulate in manuscripts around the recusant Catholic community in England, and it is by no means unlikely that the Earl of Northampton might have read Southwell's el-

egy for Queen Mary the Martyr before writing his own on the Westminster Abbey Monument. His connection with the Howards was certainly quite close, for he had been closely attached as priest to the household of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel when this foremost member of the English nobility was imprisoned in the Tower for professing his Catholicism.

Another elegy for Mary had also already been written in Latin in 1587, the very year of Mary's execution when a Scots courtier called John Gordon had written his Manes Mariæ Stuartæ Scotorum Reginæ ('Remains of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots'). This is a long verse elegy, and in 1603, the very year of the Union of Crowns, it was published in London in a limited edition printed by His Majesty's official printer for Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Gordon was a Scotsman, who had served abroad in the French courts of Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV. He was illegitimate son of the last Catholic bishop of Galloway, whose own mother was an illegitimate daughter of James IV of Scotland; hence royal blood flowed through Gordon's veins. And that is undoubtedly why Mary Queen of Scots had supported his studies in France and his expenses as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the three kings who had succeeded Mary's late husband, François II on the throne of France. Illegitimate or not, he was, after all, her second-cousin.

In 1603 King James invited Gordon back to England to become Bishop of Salisbury, and in 1604 he preached a sermon at Whitehall on the 'Union of Great Britain, in antiquitie, language, name, religion and Kingdome'. So, we can see how King James must already have had some familiarity with long Latin verse elegies commemorating his late mother at this date. There were thus good precedents for Henry Howard's Latin verse inscription on her Westminster monument.

And before we dismiss John Gordon from our discussion it is worth mentioning that a few years later, in 1621, a French courtly writer, Adrien d'Amboise, published a book called Devises royales illustrating the emblematic devices of various European kings and queens, including the Three Crowns device of Henri III, which are identified as the crowns of France and Poland, and the third crown up in the sky, Amboise explains, to symbolise the heavenly crown which Henri would only earn through his wise policies in promoting religious reconciliation. It is from d'Amboise that we learn that this celebrated, and most influential device of Henri III was 'borrowed' from Marie Stuart, 'Reine d'escosse,' and that it was a Scotsman called John Gordon who had bestowed Mary's device on her bother-in-law, Henri III.

I want to conclude by saying just something about James's motives for building or relocating some of the other monuments that surround Mary Queen of Scots' in Henry VII's chapel, because there is, of course, a wider and intelligible programme which has been well researched in books and articles by Nigel Llewellyn, David Howarth, Peter Sherlock, Julia Walker and others that may well be known to you. The Abbey website provides an excellent introduction to those issues. Surveying this research and summarising its findings will take us back to my starting point this evening, which – you'll recall – was about the implications of Elizabeth's virginity for succession to the English throne. As we shall see, the overriding motivation behind James VI/I's rebuilding or relocation of the mortal remains of his deceased predecessors and relatives in Henry VII's Chapel was to compare and contrast the fertility of the Stewarts of Scotland with the infertility of the Tudors.

As we walk round the various monuments in the Chapel one of the most striking things, apart from the magnificence of the two royal tombs, is the number of pure puzzles and surprises we meet with. If we are expecting this chapel to be dedicated simply, as its name suggests, to the royal successors of the first Tudors, we might be surprised at the number of monuments to persons whom we do not recognize either as Tudors or as monarchs. Prominent among those is the Countess of Lennox, for what – a visitor may well ask – is this tomb to a Scottish countess doing in a chapel dedicated to the Tudor succession? And the first thing to recognize is that this monument antedates all the others, for Margaret Douglas, who died in 1578, had been commemorated with this memorial that same year, 25 years before King James came on the scene. But although she gained her Scottish title after marriage to Matthew Stewart, 3rd Earl of Lennox, Margaret Douglas herself was daughter of Margaret Tudor, daughter of K. Henry VII, and Margaret Tudor's marriage to James IV of Scotland is what gave her Scottish Stewart descendants their claim to the English throne should the Tudor bloodline fail. The fact that both Stewart and Tudor blood flowed through her own veins is what gave her son, Henry Darnley, the status which he claimed in marrying Mary Queen of Scots –– indeed this is what allowed Darnley to assume that on marrying Mary he had equal status with her on the throne of Scotland, with fatal consequences as he found to his cost. So you can see why, on deciding to locate the tombs of both Mary and Elizabeth in the Henry VII Chapel, King James might well have felt that the tomb of the Anglo-Scottish Countess of Lennox, who combined both Tudor and Stuart bloodlines – and was, indeed, his own paternal grandmother (for Darnley was, of course, his Dad) – stood as a perfectly seemly precedent for

the two new monuments he was intent on building to Marie Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor. As Peter Sherlock says, "Although James had no role in the construction of the Lennox tomb, its convenient location and message about his father's status and lineage provided a foil to his mother's monument" (2007, p. 281).

The Henry VII Chapel is indeed the closest Mary Queen of Scots ever came to meeting with her sister queen Elizabeth of England, but the placement of their two monuments in separate North and South Aisles of the Chapel has to be seen as making fundamental dynastic distinctions. What distinguishes the tombs closest to Mary's in the South Aisle is indeed their emphasis on fruitful generation and childbirth, as we can see with the two adjoining monuments to James's two daughters, Sophia and Mary, both of whom died in infancy. Students of British history may be excused for never having heard of these two royal children, but in 1606 Queen Anna gave birth to a daughter Sophia, who only lived for three days, and in 1607 another daughter, Maria, survived – as her monumental inscription informs us – for just two years, five months and eight days. Despite the fact that they did not live to play any part in British history, James commissioned splendid monuments by Maximilian Colt to their memory, of which Sophia's must be one of the most extraordinary tombs not just in Westminster Abbey but almost anywhere, for the three-day-old infant is shown lying peacefully in her cradle. This design surely testifies to the grief of her royal parents, but in displacing the monuments to his two immediate predecessors on the English throne in favour of his two deceased infant daughters, James is surely accentuating his own marital fertility, which contrasts with that of his two predecessors on the English throne both of whom

died without issue. King James's readiness to permit Henry Howard, whom he had ennobled as 1st Earl of Northampton in March 1604, to inscribe on his mother's monument the Latin verses which commemorated the late Queen of Scots as a Catholic martyr thus becomes less surprising, and the fact that noone hitherto has apparently recognized the fact suggests that the risk was worth taking.

NOTE

This Emblem of the Month is based on a talk given by Professor Michael Bath in Westminster Abbey to Friends of the Abbey, in December 2019.

BENEDICTINE STABILITAS IN THE DESIGN OF THE ABBEY OF BENEDICTINE NUNS IN STANIĄTKI

Magdalena Ficoń

There are places on the map of Benedictine abbeys where, due to rich emblematic design, the choice of a single element of this design can cause a considerable headache to researchers and enthusiasts of the topic. The emblem I chose can be found on one of the stalls of the Abbey of Benedictine Nuns in Staniątki and refers to Chapter 2 of the Rule of Saint Benedict – "The Qualities of the Abbot". The emblem shows a hill overgrown with grass and low shrubs, in the middle of which there is a tall tree attached to a stake. The crown of the tree is covered with leaves, but we can see a withered branch growing out of the trunk. Somebody's hands emerge from the clouds on the sides of the tree. One holds a sickle with which it cuts off the withered branch, while the other roots out wild shoots growing from the tree's roots. The whole composition is set against a background of blue sky, obscured by light clouds and illuminated by a bright aurora above the horizon. At the bottom of the painting, on a white background, there is an inscription from Chapter 2 of the Rule of Saint Benedict: "He should not

Fig. 1. Emblem on the choir stalls in the Benedictine Nunnery in Staniatki [photo by T. Śliwiński]

gloss over the sins of those who err, but cut them out while he can, as soon as they begin to sprout." In Regula Emblematica, this graphic pattern is accompanied by the following motto: Mox ut oriuntur (which can be translated as "may they quickly rise/grow").

Looking at the emblem, the following interpretation may come to mind: the tree, that has established roots in the hill, symbolises the monk 'rooted' in the abbey, in accordance with his vow of constancy of the place (stabilitas loci). The vow taken may also be symbolised by the stake to which the tree is tied, as a symbol of the monk's adherence/attachment to the abbey. At the same time, the stake can be a symbol of the Rule of Saint Benedict, which means that monks grow and develop by following its principles. We can also assume that the stake is a symbol of the abbot. Just as a tree is tied to a stake so that it will grow straight and not lean to either side, so the monks are to obey the Abbot and follow his decisions. As a result, the whole abbey will develop healthily. In his Rule, Saint Benedict attributes great authority to the abbot, seeing him as Christ's deputy on earth. The hands on the drawing represent the abbot's task of admonishing the brothers and ensuring that they do not succumb to temptation. Whenever there is a threat to the development of a monk, and, consequently, of the whole abbey, the abbot should, as far as possible, eliminate it – uproot. Hence, on the emblem, we can see hands uprooting shoots growing out of the tree and cutting off withered branches, which are the symbol of sins committed by monks.

Other emblems placed on the choir stalls of the Abbey of Benedictine Nuns in Staniątki seem to form a coherent emblematic programme referring to Benedictine spirituality and monks' vows. Their roots can be found in the Rule of Saint Ben-

edict, and their inspiration in *Regula Emblematica* by Bonifaz Gallner.

Bonifaz Gallner was born on 9 November 1678 in Ried im Innkreis and died on 8 April 1727 in Melk. On 5 October 1698, he made his profession at the Benedictine Abbey in Melk, and was ordained a priest on 9 April 1703. He studied painting and architecture in Vienna under the direction of the Italian

Fig. 2. Emblem of Regula Emblematica Sancti Benedicti, Library of Melk Abbey, Cod. 510; Fig. 3. Emblem from printed Regula Emblematica Sancti Benedicti, Vindobonae 1780.

architect and painter, Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), which led to his work on the decoration of the church at the Melk Abbey. As well as painting, Bonifaz Gallner was also involved in architecture, writing and sketching [1].

In 1725, he completed his major work, Regula Emblematica Sancti Benedicti (the manuscript with the colourful emblems is held in the Melk Abbey Library, Cod. 510). This is the first work to present the full content of the Rule of Saint Benedict in an innovative way. The author made use of the preferred form of expression of the epoch and, by means of 187 emblematic engravings, illustrated the principles on the basis of which Benedictine monks would live. In 1780, after the author's death, Regula Emblematica was published in Vienna. The engravings prepared by Gallner were faithfully reproduced in black and white by the engraver and painter Ferdinand Landerer (1730-1795), while the preface to the work was prepared by the Melk librarian Beda Schuster [2].

Gallner's work, following the classical form of the emblem, consists of a motto that succinctly communicates what is to be discussed, an image, and a subscription that explains the representation on the icon. In creating Regula Emblematica, the author wanted the text of the Rule of Saint Benedict to begin to speak anew, highlighting certain contents and concepts in interaction with the pictorial elements and placing them in a new interpretative horizon.

The printing of Regula Emblematica was to make the work, being a valuable heritage of Baroque spirituality, so far known only to a narrow circle of recipients, see the light of day [3]. This was the case, as evidenced by the use of the so-called

Fig. 4. Stalls of the choir of the monastery in Staniątki [photo by T. Śliwiński] (verso)

"Rule in Pictures" as a model during work on the interior design of monasteries or churches, especially those associated with Benedictine spirituality.

In Poland, *Regula Emblematica* enjoyed particular popularity, especially at the Abbey of Benedictine Nuns in Staniątki [4], from which the emblem described above originates. The abbey was probably founded in 1216 and is the oldest Benedictine female monastery in Poland that has been functioning continuously until today. For over eight hundred years, it has created its own history and tradition, which are an integral part of the history and culture of the Polish state, even though separated by enclosure [5].

Over the centuries, the church and monastery were rebuilt many times, their design and furnishings changed, so the abbey is full of treasures from past eras. Some of them are undoubtedly the numerous emblematic decorations throughout the abbey. They are located on the presbytery's vault – their ideological programme corresponds to the content of the main altar, in which there is a painting of the Mother of God from the 16th century, depicting Marian themes. They can also be found on the vault in the eastern part of the body, where they are arranged around the crucifix on the rainbow arch and convey Passion content. Emblematic polychrome can also be found in the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, its content referring to the Marian image venerated there. A whole set of emblems can also be found on the polychrome and on the stalls in the lower and upper monastery choir. The emblems placed there refer to Benedictine spirituality and their graphic patterns were taken from Regula Emblematica. It is interesting to note, however, that, compared to the original, the wording of the motto has been changed in almost all the back panels. The original Latin

texts were replaced by mottoes in Polish. It is also worth mentioning that the Polish texts, in most cases, are not translations of the Latin texts, but new content additions to the painting compositions. These are usually quotations from the Rule of Saint Benedict, although not always from the chapter from which the drawing is taken, or quotations from Scripture [6].

Emblems are meant to be a union of word and image. Often, the attempt to interpret them poses considerable problems for the contemporary viewer as the 18th century symbolic world often remains a mystery to us. The very definition of an emblem shows that it does not make the viewer's task of understanding it any easier. Its aim is to stimulate the viewer's thinking and make his imagination work at top speed.

NOTES

[1] G. Glaßner, Das Buch als Quelle und Medium der Inspiration: Bonifaz Gallner, in Melk in der barocken Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Brüder Bernhard und Hieronymus Pez, ihre Forschungen und Netzwerke, C. Faustmann, G. Glaßner OSB, T. Wallnig (ed.), Melk 2014, p. 66-68.

[2] Regula Emblematica Sancti Benedicti opus posthumum admodum reverend patris Bonificii Gallner monach i benedictini in libero et exemto coenobio mellicensi nunc primum e Bibliotheca eiusdem coenobii luci publicae datum A.R.S. MDCCLXXX vindobonae Typis Joannis Thomae nobilis de Trattnern sac. caes. reg. maiest. typogr. et Bibliop, Vindobonae 1780.

[3] G. Glaßner, Via Benedicti Mellicensis. Die „Regula Emblematica" des P. Bonifaz Gallner (1678-1727) als Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit der Benediktsregel im Melker Kloster, in, Benediktiner: Leben, Geschichte und Gegenwart, M. Matějek u. H. Bachhofer (Hrsg.), Diözesanarchiv St. Pölten 2012, p. 28-49.

[4] Originally, a copy of Regula Emblematica was kept in the Archives of the Benedictine Nuns in Staniątki, but currently it is in the Archives of the Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec.

[5] B. Krasnowolski, Zarys dziejów opactwa Benedyktynek w Staniątkach, in Katalog zbiorów artystycznych Opactwa Mniszek Benedytktynek w Staniątkach, K. Kuczman, J. Skrabsk, A. Włodarek (ed.), Kraków 2018, t. 1, p. 15-25.

[6] L. Rotter, Duchowość i historia benedyktynek w symbolice dekoracji malarskiej kościoła w Staniątkach, Kraków 2004, s. 177.

CRAMER'S EMBLEMATA SACRA IN ØRUM, DENKMARK

Ulrich Schoentube

Daniel Cramer's Emblemata Sacra is the frequently most used emblem book in Protestant churches. His emblems are found in Brandenburg and North German churches. Emblemata Sacra was particularly extensively used in Denmark, as Carsten Bach Nielsen showed.[1] In the area around the town of Skive are, for example, 13 village churches with Daniel Cramer's emblems on pews and pulpits.

In most cases, the pictura, the Latin motto or a part of the Bible verse, were taken from Cramer's book. In some cases, however, there are changes that indicate that Cramer's emblems were a part of a culture of communication.

This can be recognized by our emblem of the month. It is located in the village church at Ørum, situated near Viborg. The church was 1710 decorated with 38 emblems. The paintings are on the pews and on wall panels. Twenty-five emblems were taken from Emblemata Sacra. But on five panels with Cramer emblems, the motto was changed.

The image shows a cross with a written note pinned to it, which is cancelled with a red line by a heavenly hand. The pictura refers back to one of the biblical metaphors with which the

New Testament authors attempt to interpret the death of Jesus. In the letter to the congregation in Colossae, the meaning of Jesus' death is compared to the process of ancient debt repayment. Initially, when a debt was paid, the certificate of debt was cancelled out twice and publicly posted.[2]

The author of the letter to Colossae applies this practice to interpret the death of Jesus. He explains that Christ cancelled the certificate of debt with his death. This certificate is also publicly displayed, namely on the cross. Thus, Col 2:14 states:

> "God … having forgiven us all our trespasses, by cancelling the record of debt that stood against us with its legal demands. This he set aside, nailing it to the cross." (ESV)

Both elements of the practice of debt repayment are related to the death of Jesus, the cancelling of the debt certificate and the public posting of it.

This biblical metaphor, based on an ancient practice, became the basis of the pictura of the emblem Cramer calls "Absolvor". A certificate of debt is being cancelled and pinned to the cross. Both elements occur. The motto describes the result: "Absolvor – I am set free". (Fig. 3)

It is surprising that in the rich texts that accompany Emblemata Sacra, however, one element is now missing. Cramer does not cite the biblical quotation from Col 2:14 in its entirety. He omits the decisive postscript that leads to the second aspect of the pictura – the public posting. He quotes the Bible verse Col 2:14:

> "*CHristus hat uns geschenckt alle Sünde/ und außgetilget die Handschrifft so wider uns war*".

Fig. 1. Inside Ørum church

> [Christ have forgiven us all trespasses and cancelled the hand written record, which was against us.]

In the Latin alexandrine below the engraving, reference is made to the effect of this salvific interpretation of the death of Jesus Christ, namely justification in general. In the added verses by Conrad Brachmann on the left side of the emblem,[3] the second element essential for the pictura also does not occur, indeed that the cancelled death certificate is publicly posted on the cross.

Fig. 2. Emblem "Syngraphra ficxa Cruci" (verso)

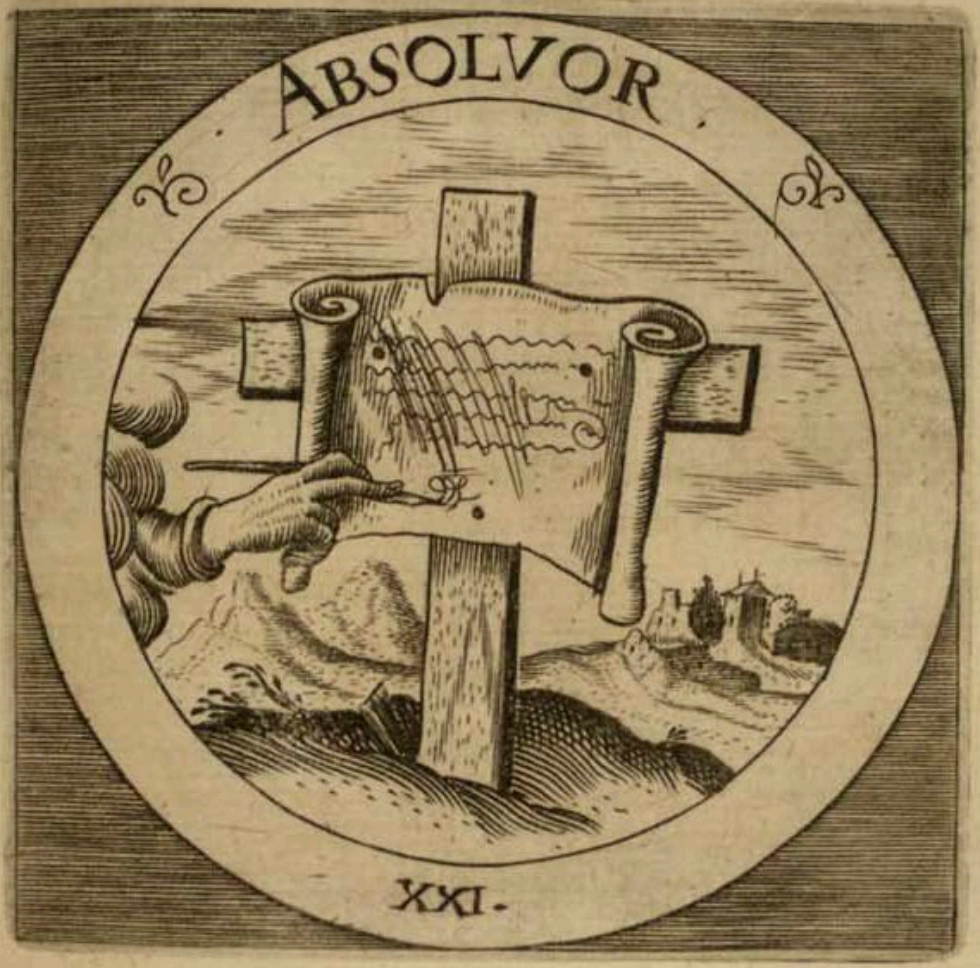
Syngraphira.
fixa. Crici.
Coloss. 2. v. 14.

EMBLEMA XXI.

Christus donavit vobis omnia delicta, delens quod aduersus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis.

Coloss. 2. 14.

CHristus hat vns geschenckt alle Sünde / vnd außgetilget die Handschrifft so wider vns war.



Scripta fuit dica magna mihi: Crux aurea Christi
Sola satisfecit, sola satisfaciet.

At the reception in Ørum, the motto has been changed. Now, it says,

"Syngraphra fixa Cruci" (sic)
Col 2:14.

With the omission of the motto "Absolvor" in the original, this emblem is oriented neither to the dogmatic result of the interpretation of the death of Jesus on the cross nor to the single-word mottos, which were typical elements of the Emblemata Sacra.

By modifying the motto the emblem focuses now on the second aspect, which Cramer omitted in his biblical quotation in the Emblemata Sacra – the public posting.

The motto – Syngraphra fixa Cruci – Fixing the debt certificate on the Cross – hint at the whole Biblical quotation. With this change, the emblem is, on the one hand, reinterpreted and, on the other hand, supplemented by the aspect that was omitted by Cramer. At the same time, however, the emblem becomes easier to understand. For with the changed motto, the pictura now represents what the biblical metaphor of the complete biblical quotation expresses: A debt certificate fixed at the cross is cancelled out.

Such simplifications and clarifications can also be observed in Ørum in the five other modifications of the Cramer emblems. It seems that these changes are very well intentioned. Apparently, the addressee should be able to look at emblems and understand the emblems with a Bible in hand, looking up the biblical passages.

Fig. 3, Emblem 'Absolvor' from Cramer's *Emblemata Sacra* (Frankfurt: Jennisius, 1624). Courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek. (recto)

Have these simplifications reached the addressees? Were they able to connect the biblical quotations with the motto and pictura? And above all, did they understand the Latin with a not faultless orthography? The debt certificate is called syngrapha and not syngraphra. :)

We shall never know. But the effort to make an emblem comprehensible – we can really feel it, even today.

NOTES

[1] Carsten Bach Nielsen, Emblems in Danish Architecture. A Survey, In: Ingrid Höpel (Hg) Architektur als Ort für Embleme, Kiel 2014. S. 16–27.
[2] Ernst Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Kolosser, Göttingen 1964, S. 69.
[3] On the Design, Genesis and Interpretation of the Emblemata Sacra cf. Sabine Mödersheim, Domini Doctrina Coronat: Die geistliche Emblematik Daniel Cramers (1568–1637), Frankfurt/Main 1994.

THE REBEL BEAR: FRONTLINE (2020)

Laurence Grove

Since the The Rebel Bear's stencilled image of a nurse wearing a Covid-19 face protection and forming a heart with her hands appeared unannounced overnight in May 2020 on the Ashton Lane side wall of the Ubiquitous Chip restaurant in Glasgow's West End it has become common to see passers-by stopping for selfies with the artwork. The piece follows on from other Covid-19 offerings by The Rebel Bear: Lockdown, a coronavirus molecule acting as a ball and chain, and Fear and Love, a lovers' kiss despite the wearing of masks. [1]

The Rebel Bear is an anonymous Glasgow street artist who dons a pink bear costume to install his works (generally nocturnally), and lives in a cave amidst the Scottish mountains, at least according to his Instagram account.[2] Frequently dubbed as 'the Scottish Banksy', like those of his Bristol counterpart the Bear's works are laden with cutting humour, often political in tone and leaning to the left, and generally referencing issues of contemporary relevance. As well as addressing Covid-19, The Rebel Bear has pointed to the idiocy of Brexit with Blind Guide Dog, whereby a

blindfolded British bulldog drags a woeful and equally unseeing Teresa May towards a cliff edge, and has tackled the ongoing sectarian struggles in Glasgow with Old Firm. Here the Queen, the symbol of the Protestant church but wearing a Celtic scarf, plays football with the Pope, in turn ironically sporting the colours of Rangers. Two identical versions adorned walls near the two stadia in question, Ibrox and Celtic Park, with the artwork receiving much praise for ridiculing a culture of bigotry.

Very interesting I hear you say (well, I would if we were Zooming unmuted), but is it an emblem? In 1988 Peter Daly analysed the working of modern advertisements,[3] in particular the Pelican in her Piety as a healthcare symbol, demonstrating that although these may not be emblems per se, they function through text/image interaction in a similar fashion to the workings of early-modern emblems, and as such might be labelled as emblematic. Further examples of contemporary emblematics are that of the tattoo as demonstrated by Sabine Mödersheim,[4] and the album

The Rebel Bear

1·556
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cover, recently explored by Chris Vezza.[5] In my own *Text/Image Mosaics* I put forward the notion of 'parallel mentalities', suggesting that although emblems may not have influenced modern forms—in this case the bande dessinée—directly, that it is indeed unlikely that Hergé knew of Andrea Alciato, cultural conditions through technology, be it the invention of the printing press or the development of cinema, have led at certain times to the mixing of text and image in hybrid cultures.[6] Our current age, that of tabloid journalism, Facebook and street art, is a new *aetas emblematica*.

✋ Hand raised for a question emoji? Surely the difference here is that Frontline, Blind Guide Dog and Old Firm largely do not include text? Well, some street art does: The Rebel Bear's image of the New York big apple shows the extremes of the wealth and poverty scales, with the motto being 'The ~~Big~~ Rotting Apple', and the *subscriptio* is provided on Instagram:

During the Bears time in NYC, he has encountered many amazing people who make this amazing city what it is. But he has also encountered people working 4 jobs just to get by, a lack of investment in infrastructure and the highest homeless rate since the great depression. All of this while the skyscrapers continue to get higher, and the inequality gap continues to widen.

More generally, in the 'textless' examples we can see the image as interacting with con/text, be it the narrative of Brexit, the Catholic/Protestant divide, or the pandemic. Early-modern emblematics often achieved similar effect, for example the sun motif of Louis XIV whose textless display would nonetheless evoke the power of 'Nec Pluribus Impar'.

At a recent conference at the Château de Bussy-Rabutin (Burgundy), presenting via WhatsApp, an emblematic piece of

technology if ever there was one, I spoke on 'Bussy et Banksy', so as to compare the love devices painted on the walls of the castle's salle des devises, and the street art of Banksy.[7] Drawing principally on the less-than-flattering depictions of Mme de Montglas, Roger de Bussy-Rabutin's mistress who deserted him in 1665 following his scandal-laden fall from grace,[8] I emphasised four points of comparison: the use of narrative or implied narrative in both the devices and examples of street art; frequent play on words; social and/or political comment; and undercutting dark humour. To take but one example, the Bussy-Rabutin siren/mermaid device depicts the facial features of Montglas, with 'Allicit ut perdat' ('she draws him in so as to wreck him') here a reference to her alleged enticement of the Count, only then to leave him floundered. Banksy's Little Mermaid statue in the 2005 'Dismaland Bemusment Park' installation at Weston-super-Mare shows the Disney character distorted akin to the images of an over-worn commercial VHS tape. The park is a dark version of Disneyland, not a Magic Kingdom where dreams come true, but one where dreams shatter when affronted with the realities of the capitalist world. In other words, it is a contemporary and societal version of 'Allicit ut perdat'.

In the case of emblems and devices used to decorate the world around us,[9] or an ephemeral procession or entry, the setting is part of the message. For Bussy-Rabutin his *salle des devices* was a reminder of the people and places from whom he was physically distant, perhaps a seventeenth-century Facebook, even if his portrayal of Monglas reflected his status of being 'unfriended'. Banksy's flower-thrower, arguably his most famous creation in which the Molotov cocktail we might expect is replaced by the symbol of love and friendship, functions because it is, originally at least, on a wall in Bethlehem at the heart of the Middle-Eastern conflict. Likewise, Old Firm works because it is in Glasgow.

ALLICIT UT PERDAT

The acute relevance of place was accentuated all the more for Bussy-Rabutin, confined as he was in exile at the orders of the King. Frontline too has at its core the emblematics of confinement, making the point that it is the NHS workers we should thank for the freedom to go out and stand by street art in the hope for better times.

NOTES

[1] The titles are those given by Grrrrr-inc., the official distributor of The Rebel Bear artworks: https://grrrrr-inc.com.
[2] https://www.instagram.com/the.rebel.bear/?hl=en. 'His' is the identifier used on this account.
[3] Peter Daly, 'Modern Advertising and the Renaissance Emblem: Modes of Visual and Verbal Persuasion', in *Words and Visual Imagination: Studies in the Interaction of English Literature and the Visual Arts*, eds. Karl Josef Höltgen, Peter M. Daly and Wolfgang Lottes (Erlangen: Universitätsverbund Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1988), 349-371.
[4] Sabine Mödersheim, 'Skin Deep – Mind Deep, Emblematics and Modern Tattoos', in *Emblems from Alciato to the Tattoo: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference*, 18-23 August 1996, eds. Peter M. Daly, John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 309-333.
[5] Chris Vezza, 'Paul Robeson's Songs of Free Men: The Album Art of Alex Steinweiss and the Aetas Emblematica', forthcoming [Fall 2020] in *Journal of Popular and American Culture*.
[6] Laurence Grove, *Text/Image Mosaics in French Culture: Emblems and Comic Strips* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Routledge, 2005). For further reference to contemporary emblematics see also Anthony J. Harper, Ingrid Höpel and Susan Sirc, eds., *Emblematic Tendencies in the Art and Literature of the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2005).
[7] The conference, Bussy-Rabutin: Horizons emblématiques, organised by Marie Chaufour, took place on 5 September 2020.
[8] For full contextualisation of these devises, see Marie Chaufour's forthcoming article, 'Les Déceptions d'un libertin: Les Devises satiriques contre Madame de Montglas'.
[9] See for example Judi Loach, 'Architecture and Emblematics: Issues in Interpretation', in *Emblems and Art History*, ed. Alison Adams (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1996), 1-21.

EMBLEMS AND INTERMEDIALITY

Pedro Germano Leal

During the early-modern period, text and image compositions[1]—such as technopaignia, carmina figurata, lover's knots, imprese, hieroglyphs, rebuses, inter alia [2]—achieved an unprecedented popularity, under the aegis of the ut pictura poesis axiom. The intermedial synthesis of words and pictures allowed the concentration of meaning in different layers, conforming to the visually-oriented and curious intellectual expectations of the humanists. Of all these forms of expression, the emblem emerged as the most ubiquitous: thousands of emblems books are known to have been published by the 18th century, after the inspiration of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg: Steyner, 1531).[3]

The genesis of the emblem as a genre has been the subject of numerous studies, and understandably so: the diversity of emblem books, their use, reception and intricate composition challenges scholarship to explore on new hypotheses,[4] often complementary, in search for an all-encompassing one that could solve this puzzle, at least on a conceptual level. The native synthesis of image, text and other elements in the fabric of emblems, however, may prove to be the ultimate barrier for any purely verbal definition.

In any case, to understand the relationship between the visual and verbal components of an emblem, it is paramount to consid-

er preliminarily the process of "emblematization" by which these two media were brought together for a specific purpose; and since Alciato's *Emblemata* is still celebrated as the prototype for the tradition, and so well-studied,[5] it is only reasonable that it would be taken here as the touchstone to discuss this process and, hopefully, some of its outcomes. In this occasion, particularly, I shall focus on one emblem only.

Alciato's poems were strongly influenced by the *Anthologia Planudea*, that he had partially translated into Latin[6] and, in at least 31 cases, his emblems consisted of paraphrases of the ancient epigrams that he took as a model.[7] *Grosso modo*, these epigrams combined an ekphrasis of an ancient monument, followed by a moral exegesis in a highly poetical language. In composing his little book, Alciato seemingly applied the poetic method of the Greek epigrams to other ancient material sources (such as coins, imprese, etc.) to which he often added a motto, thus completing his first collection of 104 emblems, which would be gradually expanded to 212 emblems in later editions. In Alciato own words,

> These past Saturnalia, (...) I put together a little *book of epigrams* to which I gave the title 'Emblemata', for in each epigram I describe something which is taken from history or from nature and can mean something refined and from which artists, goldsmiths, metalworkers, can fashion the kind of objects which we call badges and which we can attach to our hats and use as trade-marks (insignia), like Aldus' anchor, Frobenius' dove or Calvo's elephant which is in a labour so long and gives birth to nothing (Andrea Alciato, Letter to Francisco Calvo, January 9, 1523, translated by Drysdall, 2008, p. 79-80. The italic is mine).

There is no evidence that the manuscript of Alciato's "little book of epigrams" carried any illustration when it first reached the hands of Konrad Peutinger, to whom it was offered. As recently observed, that does not mean that Alciato did not have the intention of publishing his book with accompanying images.[8] Yet, when eventually Heinrich Steyner published the book for the first time, without the author's consent, *Emblemata* was illustrated with somewhat crudely-executed woodcuts, by the initiative of the printer—and much to Alciato's distaste:

> That book was published, I assure you, without my knowledge (...). In truth, since it is so full of mistakes, whether we consider the absurdities of the pictures or the corrupt text of the poems, I am forced to put my hand to the work and to acknowledge this disowned and exposed offspring, just when it was near the point of death, and to bring it forth again enlarged and better prepared (...). (Andrea Alciato, Letter to Emilio Ferretti, March 24, 1532. Translated by Denis Drysdall, "The Emblems in Two Unnoticed Items of Alciato's Correspondence", *Emblematica* 11, 2001, 379-391; p. 383).

One emblem can illustrate Alciato's method, and its relationship with ancient sources:

> *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen* (Lasting renown won through tribulation).
>
> A sparrow had entrusted her young to the branches of a plane-tree, and all would have been well, if they had not been observed by a merciless snake. This creature devoured all the chicks and the hapless parent too, a stony-hearted beast, turned to stone as

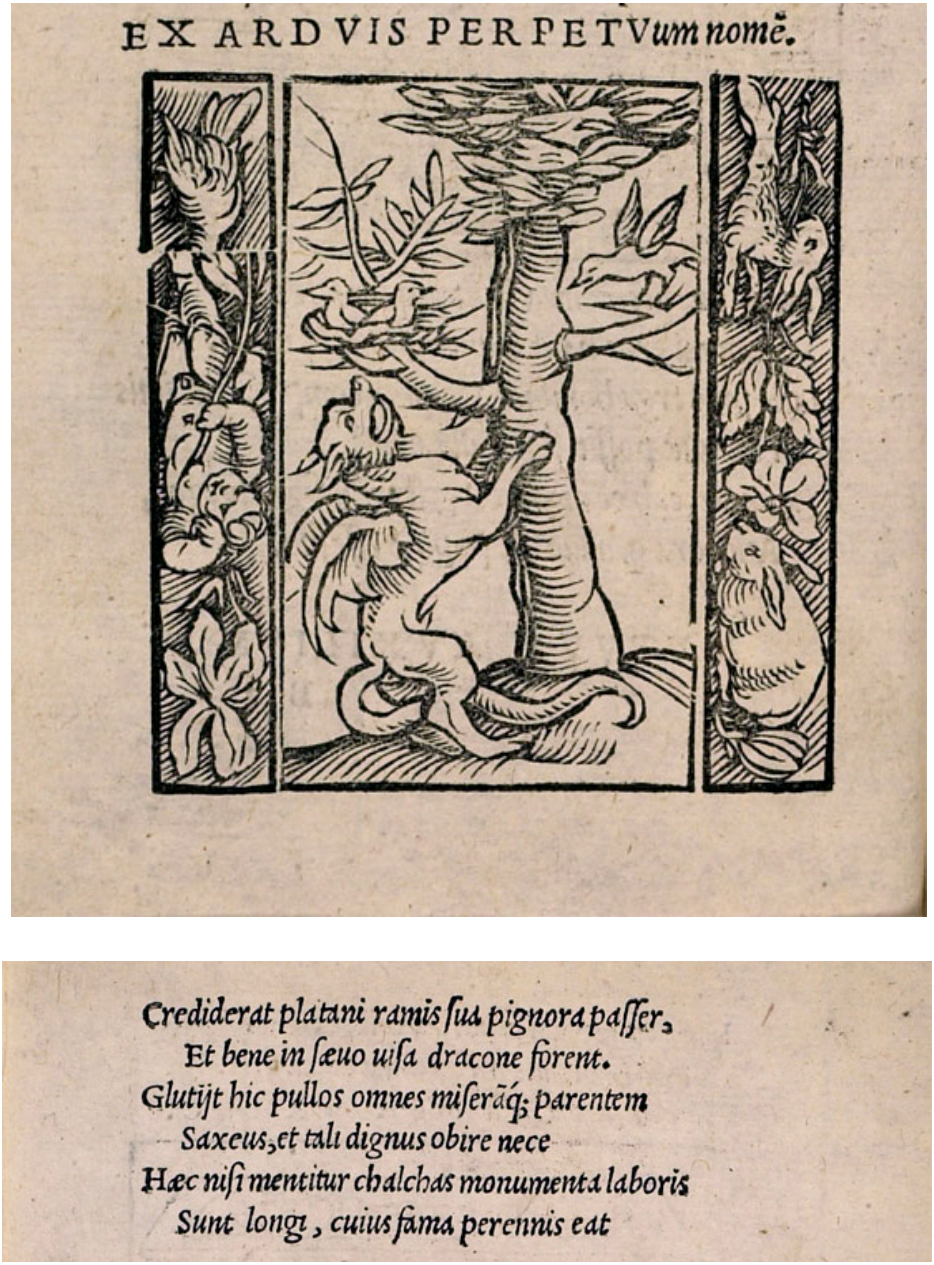


Fig. 1: Emblem *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen*, Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber*, Augsburg: Steyner, 1531; B2v-B3 (detail). Woodcut attributed to Jörg Breu. Courtesy of Glasgow University Library

it deserved. Unless Calchas speaks falsely, these are the tokens of long toil, the fame of which will go on through all the years. [9] (Emblem *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen*, Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber*, Augsburg: Steyner, 1531; B3r.) (Fig. 1)

To "emblematize" this motto, Alciato refers back to an episode described in the Iliad,[10] where Calchas sees a large snake[11] eating eight young sparrows and their mother (thus nine birds), and immediately turning into stone. He interprets it as an augury, according to which there would be nine long years of battle, but in the tenth year the Greeks would conquer "the broad streets" of Troy (i.e. the snake). In his epigram, Alciato equates the capture of Troy, with the literati's glory: perpetual fame (a topos that also appears in the following emblem *Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri*). Furthermore, the scene that Alciato describes is not strange to ancient art: as demonstrated by the sculpture known as '*Relief with the Seer Calchas.*' (Fig. 2). On the right-hand side of this ancient relief, the dragon-like serpent entwines the tree and is about to attack the nest with the chicks. Alas, this relief was discovered only in 1774 (along the Via Appia, in Rome), making it impossible to assume that Alciato saw this exact artwork at first hand. However, to help Alciato visualize this emblem, there were a number of ancient visual sources showing a serpent coiled around a tree, with nuanced meanings. In particular, I would mention Praxiteles' sculpture of Apollo Lykeios (Fig. 3), which was remediated into coins (such as the bronze coin of Septimius Severus, Fig. 4) or the Thracian bronze coin from the same period, that shows a serpent and a tree (Fig. 5). But the iconographic motif permeates ancient art, from the snakes in the Garden of the Hesperides, guarding the golden apple trees; to sculptures and coins of Pallas Athena accompanied by a snake coiling around a tree-chunk (such as Pallas Athena S8.5, now at the Palazzo Altemps, National Roman Museum, Rome).

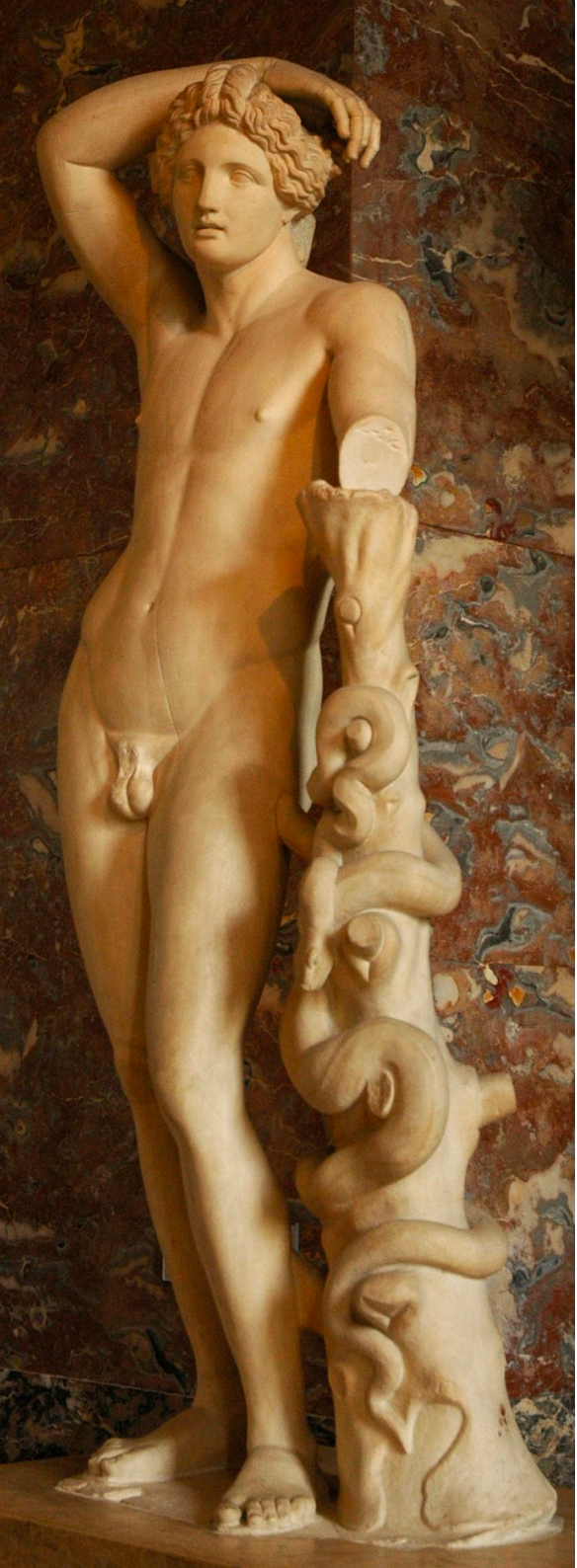


Fig. 2: Unknown. Relief with the Seer Calchas, A.D. relief 140–160; head 170–190, Marble, 72.AA.160. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California.

Fig. 3: Apollo Lykeios (Louvre, Ma 428. Roman copy of Greek sculpture by Praxiteles?).

Fig. 4: Bronze Coin AE26 of Septimius Severus, 193-211 CE

Fig. 5: Roman bronze coin, Pautalia (Thrace), Septimius Severus, (193 - 211). Source: Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 251, 15 October 2017, Lot 4642.

Somehow, the creative genius of Alciato relied on attaching *loci-communes* to the lost motifs of ancient visual culture which, in turn, that bring to life (*enargeia*) these pieces of wisdom—all that, through the epigram.

As bad as the woodcuts were, this first edition inaugurated the typical "tripartite structure" of the emblem, which would be continued in new editions and used as a model for the creation of new emblem books. This editorial success, however, did not stop Alciato from looking for a new publisher in Paris, Chrétien Wechel, with whom he collaborated in 16 new editions, with corrected texts, translated versions and, as one can expect, with Wechel himself providing the woodcuts.[12] Another innovation in the Wechel editions is the new layout, in which the motto, woodcut and epigram would fit a single page (whenever possible), underpinning the sense of tripartite unity in emblems.

This change in the illustrations did not alter the nature of the work, or the authorship of the emblem in itself. Wechel's woodcuts demonstrate that the visual component could have variations as long as it "materialized" the ekphrasis in the text. In some case, that would mean that iconographic information extracted from ancient sculptures (as taken from the *Anthologia Planudea*) would have to be preserved. That can explain, for instance, why Alciato believed that things could signify:

> Words signify, things are signified: though sometimes things signify, as the Hieroglyphs of Horus [Horapollon] and Chaeremon. Based on their arguments, I have composed a small book of poetry, whose title is "The Emblems" [Emblemata]. (Alciato, *Dn. Andreae Alciati iureconsulti clarissimi de verborum significatione, libri quatuor*. Lyon: V. de Portonariis, 1536, A3r.)

One is left to wonder why Alciato would refer to Horapollon and Chaeremon as his source of inspiration, and not the Anthologia Planudea, which is so much more evident? Perhaps, what Alciato means here is that he curated ancient Graeco-Roman imagery to be re-used in the Renaissance, just as Horapollon had done with Egyptian hieroglyphs. As a matter of fact, in his *Emblemata* dedication to Peutinger, Alciato speaks of writing through silent signs, by affixing these emblems as "trimmings to clothes and badges to hats".[13] The Latin word that he used for "signs", notae, is the same that Filippo Fasanini[14] uses to refer to Horapollon's hieroglyphs, for a very similar purpose:

> From this same work many will be able to borrow short sayings or signs [notas] which they can inscribe on swords, rings, hairnets, belts, a cithara, on beds, couches, ceiling panels, carpets, doors, in the study, on a table, on mirrors, in the bedroom, [on canopies] on earthenware and silver vases. Indeed they could, with these signs both painted and carved, wrap their secret thoughts in veils and put them all over the walls of their houses. (trans. Drysdall 2013, 83)

While Alciato expected that his emblems would be remediated into badges and other small objects, Fasanini understood that Horapollon's hieroglyphs could be applied on almost any support. Not surprisingly, in the 1549 Lyon edition of *Emblemata*—one of the last to be authorized by Alciato, Barthelemy Aneau's preface explains the "use and utility" of emblems by echoing Fasanini's list of supports where emblems could be applied, further expanding it.[15]

Alciato's reception in the following century, was quite aware of the materiality of emblems. One example that must not be underestimated is the case of work of the historian and antiquarian Loren-

zo Pignoria for Pietro Paulo Tozzi edition of Alciato. In 1608, Pignoria published his *Characteres Aegyptii*[16] in which he attempts to interpret elements from the famous Mensa Isiaca, by comparing them with Graeco-Roman antiquities.[17] In this treatise, he formed a "method" which he later employed in his work for Pietro Paolo Tozzi, the printer, who commissioned him to re-illustrate Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini degli dei degli antichi* [18]. Tozzi had already printed an illustrated edition of Cartari in 1608,[19] but the woodcuts did not seen suitable for the new 1615 edition. In the latter, Pignoria not only included a whole "second part" to the work[20] and his own commentaries, but added new pictures, "taken from marbles, bronzes, medals, jewels and other ancient objects [memorabilia]."[21] By so doing, Pignoria's attempt to associate Cartari's descriptions with actual antiquities can be regarded as a reversed-remediation of the illustrations: rather than being produced out of the author's ekphrasis, the new woodcuts were made after authentic objects—for the ultimate purpose of being remediated back to the material culture. During that time, it is likely that Pignoria was already working with Tozzi on a more ambitious project: the complete re-illustration of Alciato's emblems, using his antiquarian method, that appeared in the 1618 edition.[22] In his letter to the reader, Pignoria heavily criticizes the designers and engravers who illustrated previous editions, unable to understand the difference between "false" and "real" images[23] and, in fact, reworks all pictures carefully. For instance, he "restores" the figure of the European dragon in the emblem, *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen*, mentioned above, to that of a large serpent, truer to the ancient meaning of the word "dragon" as used by Homer (δράκων) and Alciato (draco). Ultimately Pignoria's project is evident, expressed explicitly in the title of the book, edited "with many

Emblem Ex arduis perpetuum nomen, Alciato's Emblemata (Padua: Tozzi, 1621), p. 564.

Ex arduis perpetuum nomen.

EMBLEMA CXXXII.

CREDIDERAT platani ramis ſua pignora paſſer,
Et bene, ni ſæuo viſa dracone forent.
Glutijt hic pullos omnes, miſeramq́ parentem
Saxeus, & tali dignus obire nece.
Hæc, niſi mentitur Calchas, monimenta laboris
Sunt longi, cuius fama perennis eat.

COMMENTARII.

I. IN ramoſa platano nidus conſpicitur paſſerum, auicularum genus ſalaciſſimum, quorum pulli electi à dracone ſeu ſerpente deuorantur. Platanus arbor latè ſpargit ramos, folia lata habet, aliàs ſterilis, cuius non eſt alia maior commendatio, quàm ſolem æſtate arcere, hyeme admittere.

Platanus.

II. LOCVS eſt ex Homero, Iliad. β. quẽ eundem reperies in vita Homeri, quæ Plutarchi nomine à quibuſdam circumfertur, & apud Ciceronem 2. de Diuinat. Cum in Aulide Bœotiæ portu, Græcorum ad Troiam euertendam nauigantium claſſis aduerſo vento detineretur, Calchas augur peritiſſimus cum cæteris Græcis profectus Agamemnonem docuit, qua ratione Dianã iratam placaret, & ex ſerpentis vel draconis

Hiſt. a ex Ilia ro d. ticin Calan tus.

images that restore the author's intention".

The materiality of emblems, nevertheless, went far beyond the realm of the author's own intentionality (or that of his commentators): as early as the 1540's, Alciato's emblems were used in the iconographic programs of the Castello del Buonconsiglio[24] and the Casa Cazuffi in Trent,[25] by Marcello Fogolino. In the latter, continuing the Trentine tradition of façade painting—of which the Palazzo Geremia is a remarkable earlier example—Fogolino remediated a series of Andrea Alciato's emblems in the highly decorated left frontage of Casa Cazuffi. The richly decorated façade has four levels[26] and, between the three lower levels, there are two strips imitating friezes; the first, above the arches, has ten frames (five lozenges and five medallions), and the second, seven (five lozenges and two medallions), in which the emblems are painted. (Fig. 7 and 8).

Exposed to the vicissitudes of time and weather, the frescoes of the façade have taken their toll, and some of the iconographic program is now badly damaged, if not lost. Still, the majority of the emblems can be recognized, with their motto and picture. While interpreting this whole iconographic program would go beyond the scope of this article, one example would be particularly illustrative—the last emblem of the program of the left building, in the lower right, just above the Café Italia awning... (Fig. 9)

Undeniably, the intrinsic meaning of this emblem gains new layers of meaning: it is now part of an iconographic program, which can be interpreted in relation to the other elements of the façade; rather than closed in a book, resting on a book shelf, waiting to be read by a few, the emblem can now be read by any reader on the street. But, above all, the whole program can be understood as a humanist statement, as Laura dal Prà has observed so poignantly:

Fig. 7: Casa Cazuffi in Trent, Italy, left façade. Photography by Gabriele Quaranta. (right); Fig. 8: Caza Cazuffi, right façade. (following spread).

CAFFÈ ITALIA
YVES RO
-50%

CAFFÈ ITALIA

CAFFÈ ITALIA

Fig. 9: Emblem *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen*, fresco, Casa Cazuffi. Marcello Fogolino. Photography by Gabriele Quaranta. The image has been digitally manipulated to enhance its contrast.

"A vision, fundamentally profoundly secular and disenchanted with human existence, exposed on the large square in front of the cathedral, almost as a manifest of the convictions of a single person, of elevated culture, well aware of the humanistic texts that discuss the potential of the individual and the tools at his disposal to achieve complete self-fulfillment, and debate the relationship between fortune and virtus, between fate and free will." ("'De colore non iudicat caecus'. Marcello Fogolino e Casa Cazuffi" in Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa, Laura dal Prà and Marina Botteri. Ordine e Bizzaria: il Rinascimento di Marcello Fogolino. Castello del Buonconsiglio, 2017.)

To Laura dal Prà words, I would only add that the emblem, *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen*, chosen to conclude this program, can be interpreted as a challenge to the Duomo: "eternal salvation" would not come from a life of religious obedience, but from overcoming the struggles of human life. The iconographic program also had another political aspiration, as it was commissioned by the jurist Tommaso Cazuffi for the visit of Ferdinand of Austria in Trent, in 1535 (a year that was extremely important for the Habsburgs).

From a historiographical perspective, the program at Casa Cazuffi, in keeping with the purposes of Alciato's *Emblemata*, pioneered the use of emblems in architecture and in the decoration of early-modern festivals. In fact, one cannot avoid wondering to what extent these iconographic uses inspired the participants of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), nor their influence on the exuberant decorative program for the Entry of Prince Philip in Trent (on 29th January 1549), which amazed the prince's entourage and triggered the Spanish tradition of *jeroglífico* paintings used in festivals all over the Iberian world (and often referred to as emblems), as I have sustained before.[27]

As one can easily observe in the example above, none of Alciato's emblems that were remediated in the façade of Casa Cazuffi retained their epigrams (subscriptiones), as is frequently the case with remediated emblems. This phenomenon, poses an intricate problem for emblem theory, and, by extension, for the studies of intermediality in the early-modern period: if the emblem is a tripartite genre,[28] or if Alciato's emblem is actually the epigram,[29] then the remediated compositions at Casa Cazuffi (and elsewhere), that lost the epigram in the process of remediation, should not be understood as emblems. They would have to cease to be an emblem, becoming something else yet to be named. The same logic would apply to the reverse phenomenon of emblems that were used in the

ephemeral decoration of early-modern festivals, and are extant only in descriptions contained in festival books, without pictures (often referred to as 'naked emblems'). I would propose, however, a solution for that paradox.

Since the essence of Alciato's process of emblematization consisted in adding texts (mottoes and epigrams) to an imagery that he had curated from ancient sources, he created, as Robert Cummings puts it, a sort of "imaginary museum":

> The model for Alciato's book, if rather whimsically, is not so much Peutinger's own illustrated book of inscriptions, but Peutinger's museum. As an imaginary museum its advantage over real ones is that it was filled, not with fragments of stone or dented brass, but with the most exquisite specimens of a lost art ("Alciato's Emblemata as an Imaginary Museum", in *Emblematica* 10.2 (1996), 245-281; p. 265).

In general terms, I find Cummings' hypothesis to be very compelling: it is possible to look at Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* as a catalogue of imagined Roman *emblemata*[30] inspired by literature, art and material culture. And this interpretation matches, almost perfectly, what Alciato's famous dedication to Konrad Peutinger:

> The supreme emperor may make you possessor of precious coins / And the exquisite crafts of the ancients / For my part, I shall give, as one poet to another, paper gifts (Andrea Alciato, Emblematum Liber, 1531: A2r. Translated by Denis Drysdall, 2008a, 82).

However, I would go a step further, as Alciato had the ideological purpose of reviving these images in his contemporary visual culture, through their remediation in the material world, initially in badges, but soon in any support—as already demonstrated here. In other words, this invented archeology of images—so similar to the creations of sacred etymology—responded to the same humanistic impulses as Erasmus' revival of loci communes, the Aldine efforts to restore classical literature, Marsilio Ficino's revitalization of Platonism, and so on.

Casa Cazuffi's emblems, therefore, materialized the ambition of Alciato's humanistic project, and it is an early proof that remediation is one of the intrinsic *vocations* of emblems,[31] just like the intermedial synthesis of text and image. Emblems, then, can be defined as a cultural pattern that operates on two axes of intermediality, that feed on each other: images and texts are combined in books so that they can be remediated back into the material culture. So, to return to our paradox, a print emblem remediated without its epigram (or any of its other intermedial elements) into material culture should still be treated as an emblem, because it is the outcome of that cultural pattern—or the mid of a process.

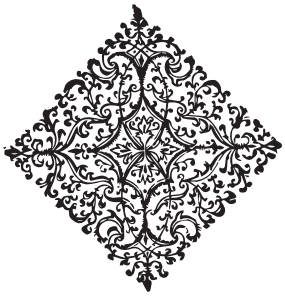
By overcoming all the tribulations of being remediated from ancient ruins, to print, and back to the early-modern material culture, the emblem *Ex arduis perpetuum nomen* from Casa Cazuffi shows how emblems were received, since their early days, as iconographic sources for artistic interventions on the material culture. Alciato and Fogolino, without being totally aware of the impact of their creations, triggered a phenomenon of *mass remediation*, that remains to be fully understood.

[1] The author would like to thank Prof. Alison Adams for kindly reading and discussing this paper, and Gabriele Quaranta for facilitating materials pertinent to and photographs of Casa Cazuffi.
[2] It is not a coincidence that Dick Higgins, who coined the concept of intermedia, wrote an introduction to these genres in his *Pattern Poetry: Guide to an Unknown Literature* (SUNY Press, 1987).
[3] Alciato's *Emblemata* was printed over 100 times between 1531 and 1620's, in Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Mexico. Peter M. Daly estimates that around 6,500 emblem books were published in total (*Companion to Emblem Studies*. AMS Studies in the Emblem 20. New York: AMS, 2008; preface). The website *Alciato at Glasgow* (http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato) contains 22 editions of this book, fully indexed, transcribed and annotated. These emblem books and many others can be found at *Emblematica Online* (http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/).
[4] For an account of the difficulties of defining emblems, see David Graham, "'Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts': Lessons from the History of Emblem Studies", *Emblematica* 22 (2016) and "Emblema Multiplex: towards a topology of emblematic forms, structures and functions" in Daly, P. M (ed.), *Emblem Scholarship: Directions and Developments*. Imago Figurata Studies 5. Brepols, 2005.
[5] For a very recent discussion on the genesis of Alciato's *Emblemata* and the hypotheses around it, see Karl A.E. Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge*, ca. 1510-1610. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
[6] Thirteen of them were soon published in *In Epigrammata aliquot Graeca Veterum elegantissima* (Cologne: Johannes Soter, 1525); and another 153 later appeared in *Selecta epigrammata graeca latine versa, ex septem epigrammatum Graecorum libris. Accesserunt omnibus omnium prioribus editionibus ac versibus plus quam quingenta Epigrammata, recens versa, ab Andrea Alciato, Ottomaro Luscinio, ac Iano Cornario Zuiccauiensi* (Basel, Ioannes Bebelius, 1529).
[7] Denis Drysdrall has published an inestimable set of tables comparing different editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* and his epigrams from *Greek Anthology*, which can be found at the *Emblems at Glasgow* website (http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciatoeditions.html). See also Alison Saunders, "Alciati and the Greek Anthology", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 12, 1982, pp. 1-18.
[8] Agnes Kusler, "Marginalia towards the Reconstruction of Alciato's Concept of the Emblem" in *Emblems and Impact. Von Zentrum und Peripherie der Emblematik*, edited by Ingrid Hoepel and Simon McKeown, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, Volume I., 321–376; p. 342.
[9] Translated at *Alciato at Glasgow*: www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?showrel=y&id=A31a024.
[10] Homer (700s-600s BC), *Iliad*, II: 303-332; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII: 11-22.
[11] Both Alciato and Homer refer to it as the large serpent known as "dragon" (δράκων).
[12] Alison Adams has demonstrated the extent of the Alciato-Wechel collaboration, which were essential for the consolidation of the genre (Alison Adams, "The Translator's Role in Sixteenth-Century Editions of Alciato", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, t. 52, n. 2

(1990), 369-383).
[13] "Vestibus ut torulos, petasis ut figere parmas, / Et valeat tacitis scribere quisque notis." (Alciato, 1531; dedicatory. The bold is mine); see also Alciato's letter to Francesco Calvo, quoted above.
[14] With whom Alciato probably had contact while studying in Bologna, see Karl Giehlow, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance, Brill*, 2015: p. 236 passim.
[15] As Michael Bath has aptly observed in his "Books and Buildings: Recursive Emblems in the Applied Arts", *Emblematica*, 22 (2016), 167-194.
[16] *Characteres aegypti, hoc est, Sacrorum, Quibus aegypti Utuntur, Simulachrorum Accurata Delineatio Et explicatio*... Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry and Matthäus Becker, 1608
[17] A more complete version of his interpretation would be published posthumously: Lorenzo Pignoria, *Laurentii Pignorii Patavini Canteen Isiaca: Qva Sacrorum apud Ægyptios ratio & simulacra subjectis tabulis æneis simul exhibentur & explicantur* [...] Amsterdam: Frisius, 1669.
[18] Ironically, this first edition (titled *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gliantichi*... Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556) was not illustrated.
[19] *Le imagini degli dei degli antichi*... Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1607. In the frontispiece, the reader is reminded that this edition is enriched "with the many main images, that were missing in the other [editions]". Another novelty is also introduced: each image is accompanied by a short text explaining it, which makes the resulting composition very similar to an emblem, at least visually.
[20] *Seconda Parte delle Imagini de gli Dei Indiani*, containing descriptions and illustrations from Mexican and Japanese deities.
[21] *Le vere e nove Imagini de gli dei delli antichi di Vicenzo Cartari Reggiano... Cavate da'Marmi, Bronzi, Medaglie, Gioie, & altre memorie antiche; con esquisito studio, & particolare diligenza da Lorenzo Pignoria Padovano*... Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1615.
[22] Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata v. cl. Andreae Alciati: cu[m] imaginibus plerisque restitutis ad mentem auctoris*... Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1618.
[23] *Verissime dixit (amice Lector) qui dixit, grauissium esse imperium consuetudinis, cum enim nescio quo malo fato Pictores, & Incisores de sumplissent sibi iam olim politissima haec Emblemata figuris illustranda, barbare adeo se gesserunt, ut nemo sit paulo eleganior, qui hac praepostera istorum opera non offendatur, & quidem grauiter. Qui Antiquitatis notitiam aliquam habent, sciunt profecto quid intersit inter veras, & fallas imagines*...
[24] L. Dal Pra, Johannes Hinderbach e Bernardo Cles: funzionalità e decorazione nella sede del principi vescovi di Trento. Spunti per una ricerca, in E. Castelnuovo (ed.), *Il Castello del Buonconsiglio. Dimora dei Principi Vescovi di Trento. Personi e tempi di una storia*. Trent: Temi, 1996, II, pp. 31-69.
[25] Laura Dal Pra, "L'Emblematum Liber di Andrea Alciati e il ciclo affrescato di Casa Cazuffi", *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, 64 (1985), pp. 5-52
[26] At the time the façade was painted, the building only had three levels.
[27] Pedro Germano Leal, *The Invention of Hieroglyphs*, PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2014, vol. 1, p. 243; "On the Origins of Spanish Hieroglyphs (I)", *Imago*, n. 6, 2014, pp. 27-38.
[28] As stipulated by Albrecht Schöne (*Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967) and frequently reiterated in introductory

texts to emblem studies.
[29] See Hessel Miedema, "The Term Emblema in Alciati." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968): 234–50.
[30] The word *Emblema* is used here in the sense of Roman figurative mosaics also known by this term. On the topic of archeology and imagination, with hints at Konrad Peutinger's interests in the field, see Christopher S. Wood "Maximilian I as Archeologist", Renaissance Quarterly, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Winter 2005), pp. 1128-1174.
[31] That was studied under the discipline of "applied emblematics", before the notion of "remediation" emerged in intermediality studies. The bibliography of the field is vast, covering theoretical issues and study cases. See Judi Loach, "Architecture and Emblematics: Issues in Interpretation", in Alison Adams (ed.), Emblems and Art History, Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1, Glasgow: Centre for Emblem Studies, 1996. 1-21; Peter Daly and Hans J. Böker (eds.), The Emblem and Architecture: Studies in Applied Emblematics from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries, Imago Figurata 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999; Pedro Germano Leal with Rubem Amaral, Emblems in Colonial Ibero-America, Glasgow Emblem Studies 18, Glasgow: Stirling Maxwell Centre, 2017; Ingrid Höpel (ed.), Architektur als Ort für Embleme. Kiel: Ludwig, 2014.

IMPRESSVM PROVIDENTIAE
AD AMERICAM APVD
PETRVM GERMANVM
LEALEM, IMPENSIS
Societatis Emblematum
Studiis



MMXXII

INCLVTA HEBIGENAE SPECTAS MONVMENTA EBETIS
HVMANAE BIVIVM VITAE ERRORES QVE MALIGNOS,
MORTALES QVE QVIBVS SENSVS IRRETIAT ILLEX
IMPOSTVRA MODIS, CIRCEIA QVE POCVLA DISCE
RVRSVS INACCESSOS PANDAT QVAE SEMITA CALLES;
ARDVA QVA VIRTVS HABITAT, DIIS PROXIMA, TVRBAE
NON RESIDI AETERNVM NOMEN, VITAM QVE BEATAM,
VATIBVS ET LAVROS FRODETIA PRAEMIA DONAS
1607
FORTVNA
GLORIA VANA
CONCVPISCENTIA
VOLVPTAS
OPINIO
ERROR ET IGNORANTIA